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CSFR Ministry Note on Postponement of Pact Talks

LD2410182590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Today CTK received a Foreign Ministry press report on the postponement of the extraordinary session of the Warsaw Pact political consultative committee. It says that on 20 October, the Soviet leadership turned to the Hungarian leadership, as host of the extraordinary session of the Warsaw Pact political consultative committee, and on 22 October to the Czechoslovak president, with the request to postpone this session until after the Paris summit of the CSCE.

President Vaclav Havel considered this request with the premise that, prior to taking a definite stance, he would evaluate all aspects connected with this proposal. At the center of the issues which were considered was the Czechoslovak interest in positively contributing, to a maximum possible degree, to the Paris summit of the CSCE.

On 24 October, President Vaclav Havel sent a letter to Mikhail Gorbachev, in which he conveys to him that after careful evaluation of the reasons which led the Soviet leadership to propose the postponement of the extraordinary session of the Warsaw Pact political consultative committee, and of a number of other relevant questions linked with this, Czechoslovakia will not block the reaching of a consensus on the new date for the meeting. It proposes holding a session in Budapest by the end of this year at the latest.

Fourth Round of Pact Arms Talks Set for 26 Oct

LD2410175390 Prague CTK in English 1609 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 24 (CTK)—The fourth round of the controversial discussions by a special Warsaw Pact commission for conventional disarmament, which is to define the quotas of tanks and guns each Pact member state is to have, will be held here on October 26-27.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry has stated that the discussions will be conducted, equally as the previous ones, at the level of deputy foreign ministers. An official ministry report did not say whether the fourth round would be attended by representatives of the army general staffs of the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and Romania.

The third round, held in Prague on October 9-10, failed to distribute quotas from the 20,000 tanks which the Warsaw Pact is to have in line with the Vienna conference on conventional disarmament. Although the Pact member states could divide also the quota earmarked for the former GDR, the demands exceed by approximately 500 tanks the permitted uppermost limit. The Soviet Union wants 13,300 tanks for itself. According to Czechoslovak negotiators, Czechoslovakia reduced its original demand by 150 tanks, however they failed to specify how many tanks it claims altogether. The third round finished with the delegated representatives stating that they had not been authorized to make a final suggestion.

The discussions are held under pressure of time as a treaty, which is to wind up the long-lasting Vienna talks, is to be signed by the NATO and Warsaw Pact signatories at the November summit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Pact Transformation Discussed in Warsaw 24 Oct

LD2410194590 Warsaw PAP in English 1631 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 24—Government plenipotentiaries of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty in charge of transformations of the Pact wrapped up a two-day meeting in Warsaw.

Issues of the liquidation of the Warsaw Treaty's military structures were the main topic of discussion.

* Conference on Military Conversion Held in Sofia

91P20010A Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 Oct 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "A Scientific Conference on Conversion"]

[Text] The fourth scientific conference on the economic aspects of defense and security was opened in hall number 8 at the People's Palace of Culture. Its organizers include the newly renamed University for National and International Economics, the College for Economic and Administrative Aspects of National Security, the Analytical Laboratory for Scientific Research, and the Department of Economics and Management of the Defense Industry. Besides Bulgarian specialists, 30 scholarly guests from the USSR, Germany, and Poland are delivering addresses.

Regarding conversion, the chairman of the organizational committee of the conference, Professor Dimitur Dimitrov, said in his inaugural address: "I anticipate that this conference will become an important occasion in the research and training of our specialists. I am optimistic because scholars from many countries are present, and problems of conversion are being dealt with on a highly professional level. The perspectives of the scholars have risen above political prejudices and are responsive to universal human values."

Balkan Foreign Ministers Continue Tirana Meeting

Albania's Alia, Carcani Attend

AU2410154290 Tirana ATA in English 1234 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Tirana, October 24 (ATA)—Today at 1000 the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states started its proceedings in one of the environments of the Palace of Congresses in Tirana on October 24. Attending are the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria headed by Lyuben Gotsev, minister for foreign affairs; the delegation of the Hellenic Republic, headed by Andonios Samaras, minister for foreign affairs; the delegation of Romania headed by Adrian Nastase, minister for foreign affairs; the delegation of the Republic of Turkey headed by Ahmet Kurtcebe Alptemocin, minister for foreign affairs; the delegation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia headed by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by Reis Malile, minister for foreign affairs.

Present in the opening of the meeting was also the chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Adil Carcani, and other comrades.

In the hall of the Palace of Congresses, Comrade Ramiz Alia met with foreign reporters who have come to reflect this important Balkan activity and wished them successes in their work.

Prior to the beginning of the meeting, Comrade Ramiz Alia met with the ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan countries. "We are for friendship and this is the reason we have gathered today. We are inclined to be friends with one another. Our countries are here for centuries, none of them intends to displace each other. Therefore, we shall be friends, and work together. We have many things to do, but I see you all are optimistic. Time entitles us the right to be optimistic. But it depends on the men. It is our duty. We should come to terms on this. I hope this meeting will be of interest for all our countries. The Balkans is a very important point not only today, but it has been such during all the century-long history. History crosses here, from East and West, from afar and near. Hence, the more united the Balkan peoples, the better, especially in the present world with all these proceses of integration and cooperation among the peoples. All these require that the Balkans too be a positive factor in this process of integration. We have all possibilities, the will as well.

The meeting was declared open by the foreign minister of Albania, Reis Malile, who said among others:

The process of the Balkan cooperation initiated nearly two and a half years ago with the meeting of the foreign ministers in Belgrade showed that the Balkan countries have now entered a correct road aiming at the fruitful cooperation, consolidation of confidence and friendship among them, and at guaranteeing peace and security in the Balkans.

Our meeting conducted its proceedings at a time when the European positive processes create a new background and space for the Balkan cooperation as well.

The further crystallization of the process of Balkan cooperation, through the active participation of all the countries of our region, is not only a marked achievement but also a positive turn for the construction of the new inter-Balkan relations.

Then, the chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, greeted the meeting of the ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan countries.

At the plenary sitting, the foreign ministers of the Balkans elected unanimously as chairman of the meeting the minister for foreign affairs of Albania, Reis Malile.

He gave the floor first to the minister for foreign affairs of the PR [People's Republic] of Bulgaria, Ljuben Gotsev.

Then the floor was taken by the other ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan countries.

The meeting continues its proceedings.

Alia Stresses Cooperation

AU2410153590 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Greeting by Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, to the meeting of Balkan foreign ministers in Tirana on 24 October]

[Text] Tirana, October 24 (ATA)—Distinguished Messrs. Ministers, the meeting of the ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan countries in Tirana gives me the pleasure to convey to you my best greetings and wish you success in your work and most fruitful results.

I would like to express my hope and confidence that this meeting of senior government representatives of the Balkans will render its contribution to the further rapprochement and friendship of our peoples and countries, to enhanced cooperation among them and to the strengthening of peace and security in general in such a sensitive and delicate region as the Balkans.

The Tirana meeting takes place two years after the Belgrade meeting and after a great number of intergovernmental activities at various levels and by different sectors, among many government and public institutions and personalities.

All this work that has been done with the good will of all participants, with a sincere desire of all parties, constitutes a source of encouragement and a sound basis for the further progress.

It is a noble task of great responsibility before our countries and peoples to consolidate and materialize this desire and constructive spirit with the conclusion of concrete programs that would further extend and step up the process of Balkan cooperation.

The positive changes that are currently taking place in international relations have also led to a favourable atmosphere for the advance of the process of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in our region.

The essential thing is that there is a growing conviction and confidence that the many contradictions among various countries cannot be solved through policies and practices of confrontation, armaments race and total opposition, that the best way of overcoming them is the establishment of all-round cooperation and integration on the basis of understanding and confidence among the peoples.

This concept is useful especially for the adjustment and reconstructing of relations among the Balkan countries, which unfortunately are still loaded by the legacy of their history, which is as glorious as it is tragic.

I believe that we, the Balkan peoples, just as we are aware of the good traditions that testify to friendship and fraternal cooperation, are also aware of the quarrels and tensions in our region, which rise from inherited unsolved problems. However, if the roots of these problems go deep into history, this does not mean that it will take just as long to change the situation and enhance the climate of confidence.

In a world which is rapidly changing, the past does not help us to advance with the necessary speed. Liberation from the shackles of old mentalities is an imperative of our time. Certainly, this cannot be achieved without efforts and strong political will. But the objective towards which we should advance is to foster the interests of our peoples, of friendship and peace, security and progress among them.

A new vision is needed not only for the promotion of the process of Balkan cooperation, but also for its role in the European cooperation too. Establishment of a peace and security space in the Balkans would be, if not a condition, a factor of major importance for security in Europe, the creation of an all-European base for cooperation, and, in general for the establishment of understanding and confidence among the peoples of our continent. With their political stands and practical activities, the Balkan peoples have proved that they desire to be not only an integral part of the future Europe, but also an active force building it. Proceeding from this conviction, Albania has pointed out that for a stable, harmonious and secure coexistence to be achieved in Europe, general security of the states and peoples that make it up is necessary. However, in our opinion, if this is not accompanied with broad economic cooperation to the benefit of all, true security is hardly possible.

It is known that Europe owes much to the Balkans. Certainly, we, the Balkan peoples, have our faults for our relative backwardness in many fields. However, the Europeans are not blameless, either. It should be believed that they, whether in the West or in the East, understand that they have much to do towards our peoples.

Hence, our countries' growing awareness of their common interests, which finds its best expression in the consolidation and advancement of the Balkan process, is also an indispensable necessity for equal partnership with the other nations of the Europe of tomorrow.

In the Balkans there are many problems among its nations, which hamper such rapprochement and cooperation as the modern times require. I do not want to exaggerate, nor do I want to be pessimistic, but life has shown that any delay in the solution of these problems entails the evil of their further deepening and exacerbation. So it is up to us to make bold and cope with them, no matter how difficult the first steps may seem. Let us sit down and discuss in a constructive manner and look forward to the future.

We must struggle for an open, sincere and friendly dialogue over any problem and any conflict without exception. Let us overcome obstacles through greater cooperation, emphasizing common interests and struggling for their defense. With the changes that are taking place in Europe now, new common interests are emerging for our countries. We could not exploit them to the full, were we to act separately. They represent another subject of discussion to cope with the challenges of the time and to coordinate efforts.

I would like to express my confidence that the Balkan countries have all the possibilities from now on to march in one rank and in step with the other countries and regions of Europe and to make their contribution to the security and advance of the whole continent.

Let us concentrate all our energies and the dynamism, traditions and creativeness of our peoples in a positive direction, let us channel them into the progressive currents of our time for the lofty and sacred cause of the defense of peace and security for all, of the strengthening of freedom and the improvement of the well-being of all.

Honoured ministers for foreign affairs, along with the hope that your meeting will make a valuable contribution to the attainment of these lofty aims, allow me to assure you that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is determined to make all possible efforts for the strengthening and further advance of the process of Balkan cooperation, as an integral part of European cooperation.

SFRY's Loncar for Cooperation 'Mechanism'

LD2410130190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1117 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Tirana, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—The Balkans are not immune to the changes in Europe. It was about these changes, both in Europe and in the Balkans, that Budimir Loncar, [Yugoslav] federal secretary for foreign affairs, spoke today at the second ministerial conference of Balkan countries in Tirana. According to him, a historic step, which at that time "anticipated the trends in Europe," was taken with the opening up of Balkan cooperation two years ago at the first ministerial meeting in Belgrade. However, we (the Balkans) are still lagging behind the processes taking place on the European continent.

How, therefore, should we keep pace with the processes in Europe?

"We will progress only if we Europeanize our Balkan specificalities and difficulties," Loncar said, and added: "I believe that there is no need to provide evidence of the fact that if we do not do this, Europe could pass out of our reach for ever, and without the slightest pangs of conscience that it did not allow itself to be Balkanized."

Emphasizing the importance of Balkan cooperation, Yugoslavia's foreign minister recalled that Yugoslavia was among its initiators. He said that today every country, including Yugoslavia, has the regional option, as one of the most effective, for realizing its own and broader interests.

"Yugoslavia, of whose seven neighbors four are Balkan countries, sees Balkan cooperation—as well as Mediterranean and Pentagonal cooperation, in which it is a participant—as perhaps the best way of investing in good-neighborliness and in the other aims, principles, and standards contained in the CSCE and in European and world processes of today," said Loncar.

How and in what way to proceed in the development of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans?

Replying to this question, Loncar recalled that results have already been achieved: "The levers are operating" in the spheres of communications, trade, industrial cooperation, the transfer of technology, energy, agriculture, tourism, ecology, and health. New achievements have also been recorded in nongovernmental cooperation. A breakthrough has also been made in the domain of measures for strengthening confidence and security, and in cooperation in the struggle against terrorism, and the smuggling of drugs and arms.

In Loncar's view, however, this is not the full scale of the possibilities of the Balkans.

"We know that it is not always easy to balance good will and political reality. This is why we are not closing our eyes to what is here, and what realistically exists. It is a fact that inter-Balkan cooperation takes place under constant—lesser or greater—pressure of inherited problems and current difficulties in our relations. However, we have not exhausted all the chances to have this pressure reduced, and possibly totally removed. What we need is a mechanism for dialogue and cooperation which is far more elaborate than the one we now have," said Loncar.

Explaining the Yugoslav perception of inter-Balkan cooperation, Loncar said that it is "in the vital interest of all Balkan peoples and countries that politically, economically, legally, and psychologically a historical wall, which by the force of circumstances separated the Balkans from other parts of Europe, be brought down."

"We are advocating dialogue and cooperation, which are today the most powerful instruments in international relations. We perceive prospects of cooperation in the Balkans in its relative independence and automony, and also in its ties and participation in European mainstream events and CSCE as a whole," said Loncar.

Loncar devoted a portion of his speech today to a democratic solution of the status of national minorities which is "a paramount political issue of present-day Europe."

"My country always urged such solutions. However, no one in the Balkans is without national minorities, and no one has the right to close one's eyes to one's problems and legitimate requirements. It is obvious that national and minority issues in Europe must be resolved on the basis of generally accepted standards of human freedoms and rights in the spirit of the Helsinki principles and of the stands of the conference of Copenhagen," said Loncar.

In his view the status of minorities cannot be linked with existing borders.

"Respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of the states is the prerequisite to fully affirming minority and all other rights, to which the present-day Europe is aspiring," he stressed.

In conclusion, the federal secretary of foreign affairs made a proposal to his opposite numbers assembled at this ministerial meeting:

That, within the framework of the institutionalization of political cooperation, the meetings of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers be held on a regular basis, at least once a year. He urged that the working meetings be brief, without lengthy preparations, on the pattern of European meetings—"and the problems we have in bilateral relations, in multilateral cooperation, and the problems which could emerge, are all an additional reason why we should establish such practice."

"Such a practice could gradually lead to a Balkan summit meeting," said Budimir Loncar, Yugoslav foreign minister, in Tirana today during the Balkan countries' ministerial meeting.

Albania's Malile Addresses Meeting

AU2410155690 Tirana ATA in English 1248 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Address by Albanian Foreign Affairs Minister Reis Malile at the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states in Tirana on 24 October]

[Text] Tirana, October 24 (ATA)—Distinguished colleagues, it is an honour and pleasure for me to once more bid you welcome to the capital city of our country, where we are opening today the meeting of the ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan states. I express my conviction that this meeting will make possible a fruitful exchange of views and ideas on the progress of the Balkan cooperation hitherto, and on the opportunities and ways to further enrich and consolidate it.

The period that has elapsed since the Belgrade meeting to date, described as the first phase of this process, hailed by the peoples of the Balkans, has rather had an exploratory character to seek fields of and promote cooperation wherever it is truly possible. Our judgment is that this meeting's duty is to work out the guide lines and ways in order to concretize and carry cooperation to a qualitatively new stage. To this end, it is understandable, painstaking, concerted efforts and a broader vision which responds to contemporary developments are required.

The many inter-Balkan meetings and activities at ministerial, high officials or experts level in the political, economic, scientific, and other fields, have paved the way for a regional dialogue of unprecedented dimension.

Worthy of mention are, especially, the meetings of high officials of the foreign ministers held during this period in all the capitals, the meetings of the ministers of transport, the economy or foreign trade, energy, of experts on ecological problems and tourism, etc. Though they brought about only modest results, the important fact is that we got together and discussed problems of mutual concern and interest, trying to gradually create that spirit of understanding and confidence that opens the way for fruitful cooperation. The process of inter-Balkan cooperation is, step by step, taking shape as a new element of our region's politics which ensures the crumbling of old or new, real or artificial, barriers impeding the rapprochement of our peoples and countries.

If by virtue of history and geography the peoples have shared mutual interests and been united, the contemporary developments in our continent render this rapprochement and cooperation among our peoples and countries even more indispensable today. The Balkans cannot be conceived as separated from Europe just as it cannot be left outside its trends in general, because this region bears a specific weight on the European balance and has a significant geopolitical position.

The interests of our peoples, peace and progress call for the overcoming of the bitter legacy of the past. The time has already corroborated that political dialogue represents the best course to overcome and settle problems, no matter how difficult they might be. In the case of our region, this dialogue is being intensified and associated with a concrete cooperation imbuing it with substance.

The second meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states is being held at a time when important political developments have taken and are taking place in many hopeful directions on an international scale, giving rise to hope and greater international security. Despite the easing of tension, there are regions like the Gulf, where an explosive situation is still reigning, especially following Iraq's aggression on Kuwait, which testifies that threats and dangers to peace have not yet been eliminated.

A new concept on European security is taking shape in Europe, aiming at freeing it from the spirit of blocs and confrontation and ensuring security for all through the democratization processes and close cooperation in order to build a European structure where each and every state, people and country of the continent can, while preserving its national physiognomy, live in harmony, understanding and security with others. An idea is steadily gaining ground everyday that the development of all from the economic point of view, an all-sided, most varied cooperation lead to genuine security, just like security and fruitful cooperation imply observance of the legitimate right of the states to be independent, sovereign and equal. Security, cooperation and development call for the harmonization of the specific and general interests.

The CSCE process, which is moving towards its institutionalization, has turned into a reference point in the current European processes. We hope that this institutionalization that will be carried out in the Paris summit will lay stable foundations for the security and peace in Europe and the world.

The new situations created in Europe benefit and provide space for Balkan cooperation, ensuring its natural connection with the CSCE. Conceiving the Balkans as an integral part of Europe implies that the tranquillity, security and development of this region depend, to a considerable degree, on the situation in Europe. Similarly, a peaceful and stable Balkans directly benefits Europe as a whole and the Mediterranean.

The advantages offered by regional cooperation should be utilized to the maximum and, at the same time, be coordinated and harmonized with those of other regions. Building concrete relationships with the European community and other economic bodies on regional scale and further afield creates new, even bigger potentials of cooperation between our region and other regions. Even though the impact of regional groupings and cooperation has been markedly highlighted, in our time the special role of the United Nations Organization, which constitutes an important instrument for the preservation of peace and security and the democratization of present-day international relations, remains indisputable.

When new structures of security and cooperation are being built in our continent, it is but natural that Balkan cooperation, too, should not lag behind. At the present state we can find some elements of certain institutionalization of the Balkan process, such as the periodical meetings of high officials, therefore, it would be appropriate to seek such ways and means and organisational forms that could make this cooperation richer, more effective and place it on a more solid basis. For instance, we would propose to pass over to annual meetings of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states. This would be, in a way, a political forum in our region, which would make a periodical appraisal of the advancement of this process and would set the guidelines of its follow-up activities. Of special importance would be the holding of a summit of the Balkan states, which would deal with problems preoccupying our region today and open up new vistas for cooperation.

We are of the opinion that the issues relating to security and confidence-building measures should become a subject of discussion and for an exchange of views in order to extend and consolidate the basis of Balkan cooperation. It would also be necessary to set up bodies or similar organisms that would deal with specific aspects of economic cooperation in all its complexity, cultural, humanitarian and other questions.

Distinguished colleagues, even though we cannot say that old mentalities and cold war hangovers have been overcome, the important thing is that Balkan cooperation is blazing its way to the future as a positive and realistic alternative. At a time when new situations are being created and when settlements of conflicts and complicated problems are being sought and achieved in the field of international relations, it is natural for the Balkans too to advance in step with the time. Today, more than ever before, good neighbourliness, as a relationship which has brought forth not only similar historical destinies but also common interests and obligations, should turn into a norm of conduct among the countries of our region. In actual fact, it constitutes the foundation stone of Balkan cooperation. Good neighbourliness implies, in the first place, the development of bilateral relations. And the fact is that when bilateral relations are freed from negative factors and based on mutual respect and understanding, multilateral relations, too, develop positively.

The Albanian delegation would like to revoke [word as received] the idea and proposal it has submitted before, to draft and edit a document on the principles of good-neighbourliness. It is beyond doubt that such a document will be based on well-known international norms, including those of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, in which the realities of our region are also reflected. Our opinion is to draft and edit this document and submit it for approval to a summit of the Balkan states. That would mark a valuable political achievement that would fulfill an ancient aspiration of the peoples of the region.

Good neighbourliness and the process of Balkan cooperation based upon it, genuine security and confidence-building in our region, are closely linked with a very sensitive question—that of the ethnic minorities.

All the Balkan states have already recognised the correct view that minorities should constitute a factor of cohesion, rapprochement, and friendship among our peoples. It is indispensable that the spirit of the democratic processes of our time should characterize one's attitude towards this delicate problem with the aim of ensuring national, political, economic and cultural rights, developing the historical traditions and preserving the ethnopsychological composition of national minorities. Our countries and region will, in so doing, open a broad avenue to democracy , humanitarianism and civilization. That implies neither border rectifications nor unification of minorities with their national states. The point is to refrain from erecting barriers that give rise to isolation and follow a policy which should make minorities feel an equal and worthy part of the people within whose borders they live. This would only bring about rapprochement and friendship among our Balkan peoples, who history has more than anywhere else, mixed up with one another, rendering the ethnic minority issue as tangible as it is sensitive.

Colleagues and guests, time has proved that important areas of cooperation of an economic, scientific, technological, cultural and humanitarian character exist in our region. Various proposals have been forwarded in these respects at the meetings held hitherto. We hold that new possibilities have arisen to find most varied ways and forms of more intensive cooperation, not only among the countries of the region. This necessitates a more active participation of the Balkans in the economic cooperation with the rest of Europe and the Mediterranean. This cooperation offers opportunities for better partnership. Worth mentioning is the fact that initiatives have been taken of late on a regional scale, in Europe, Mediterranean and Adriatic, which lay stress especially on cooperation in the fields of ecology, transport, tourism, etc. It is our opinion that they offer a good opportunity of cooperation and benefit for our region as well.

To render Balkan cooperation as fruitful as possible, we consider it necessary to undertake initiatives and utilize advanced, contemporary ways and means in our economic and commercial exchanges, including cross-border trade, the field of energy and, in particular, well-studied exploitation of frontier waters, the mining and upgrading of natural resources, the field of transport, agriculture, tourism, etc. The recommendations made at various Balkan meetings for specialized cooperation, including the application of such forms of cooperation as coproduction or the setting up of joint ventures, the encouragement of and provision of facilities for one-another's capital investments etc., are not only necessary but fully possible as well.

We think that a topic of discussion which arouses interest in economic cooperation in our region is the identification of the most adequate solution for the lifting of barriers to economic and trade cooperation, as well as for cooperation in commodity marketing, etc. We also hold that it is high time to examine in more concrete terms the proposals made for the establishment of a Balkan chamber of commerce, financial and economic bodies ,etc.

Legislation is an area where amendments and adoptions are currently under way in many countries.

In Albania, as part and parcel of the further democratization of the country's entire life, we are further improving our legislation, making amendments dictated by the progress time has brought about at home and abroad while reflecting the current tendencies and democratic processes.

In this context, cooperation among the Balkan countries in the field of justice would be a justified and useful effort in the exchange of views and ideas and drawing upon each other's experiences.

In close connection with the foregoing, we think that our countries should keep on stepping up the cooperation that has started at the Balkan meetings concerning the combat against terrorism and illicit drug traffic, phenomena and ills which we are all interested in guarding the Balkans against.

While scientific and technological cooperation on the bilateral plane has justified its usefulness, we think that it would be of interest to find the ways and means of cooperation, which encourage undertaking of joint studies on a regional scale. Such studies can cover the fields of energy, geology, agriculture, health service and environmental protection, etc.

With regard to transport, the Balkan meetings held so far have revealed the common need to strengthen the Balkan multilateral and bilateral cooperation, aimed at selecting the most rational routes of passenger and goods movement in the Balkans. We would be pleased to host the meeting of the ministers of transport of the Balkan states in Tirana in 1991.

All the Balkan countries have shown their concern and solicitude for the ecological problems of the region. Thanks to concerted efforts and the interest shown, it has been made possible to work out a draft-ecological convention whose conclusion would mark a significant achievement in a field that concerns the entire international community today.

The Balkans is renowned for its cultural and artistic heritage and its contribution to the treasury of civilization in general. Balkan-wide cultural activities would contribute to better acquaintance with each other's individual and common values, as well as to the rapprochement and friendship of our peoples. Balkan cultural events, arts exhibitions and other activities can be organised in this framework. Commendable work in the field of education and culture can be done with a more intensive activity and further cooperation on the part of UNESCO National Commissions of the Balkan countries.

It is a positive fact that various Balkan meetings and seminars on health have been held time and again. The extension of cooperation in this domain in such narrow region as ours becomes even more necessary. Therefore, we would suggest the holding of a meeting of the ministers of health of the Balkan states to give a fresh impetus to cooperation in this field.

The deepening of the Balkan cooperation process requires the encouragement and intensification of bilateral and regional contacts of parliamentarians and nongovernmental organizations, such as the Committees for Balkan Understanding and similar organizations, as well as of personalities in various fields of social activity. All of this will also serve the consolidation of bilateral relations which, in fact, constitute the starting point of this cooperation. As well as this, it will serve the creation and strengthening of the opinion which benefits the trend to understanding and confidence in the region. The mass media have a specific role in this context to disseminate objective information that would encourage the build-up of a positive and sound public opinion.

In conclusion, allow me to express the conviction of the Albanian Government that the deliberations of this meeting will be conducted in a friendly spirit and with full success, and that the process of Balkan cooperation will enter a new stage while recording further achievements to the benefit of peace, stability and progress in our region.

Thank you.

Greece's Samaras Addresses Meeting

NC2410213690 Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1925 GMT 24 Oct90

[Text] Foreign Minister Andonios Samaras spoke during the two-day conference of Balkan foreign ministers being held in Tirana and asked for the full respect of human rights for all nations as well as for national and religious minorities, wherever they may be.

Samaras also stressed to his counterparts that they should proceed with organizing Balkan cooperation on a new basis. He also emphasized the need to more actively promote cooperation in protecting the environment and combating narcotics.

Albanian President Ramiz Alia opened the conference with a speech outlining the regime's intentions to proceed with improving its relations with the Balkan countries and Europe in general.

Greek, Romanian Foreign Ministers Speak

AU2510142890 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Andonios Samaras, minister for foreign affairs of the Hellenic Republic, voiced his belief that the present meeting [in Tirana of the Balkan foreign ministers] will further promote Balkan cooperation and will strengthen the ties among our countries for the benefit of the peoples of our region and of Europe as a whole. We are all aware, of course, of the impact that the Balkan cooperation process has already had, not only in terms of concrete results but also, more importantly, in reinforcing our belief in the value and usefulness of such an exercise.

After pointing to the many-year commitment of Greece to further promote the process of multilateral inter-Balkan cooperation, Samaras said that the meeting of the ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan countries, held in Belgrade in 1988, gave a fresh impetus and opened new perspectives for the future. A number of inter-Balkan meetings in various areas of common interest have already been held, while others are being prepared for the future. The results are encouraging.

What is, therefore, required, the foreign minister of Greece said, is the next decisive step. By that I mean the will of us six to institutionalize the Balkan cooperation. This, I believe, was also highlighted last night during the first meeting, when we all realized the potential benefits of such a more functional form of cooperation.

The minister for foreign affairs of Greece briefly reviewed the results already achieved in various fields of Balkan cooperation since the Belgrade meeting. He mentioned three important ministerial meetings in the field of economic, trade and industrial cooperation. He also pointed to the significant field of tourism and after the satisfactory results achieved at the 22nd Balkan conference of the official tourism organisations, held in Bursa last December, we look at the achievements in the area of transport as well as the active commitment in the area of environmental protection. Allow me to reiterate, said Samaras that the CSCE process, in which we are all members or observers, includes as a major element among its prime targets, the protection of the environment in the greater Mediterranean region, thus opening parallel important mechanisms of cooperation. Having in mind the tragic events of Chernobyl, I would like to bring to your attention the real threat that the existence of nuclear plants in our region constitutes for the environment. The foreign minister of Greece hailed the results achieved by the meeting of the ministers of energy of the Balkan countries held in Tirana, the expansion of the Balkan cooperation into new areas on combatting terrorism and illicit drugs and arms trafficking, etc.

Special attention, he said, should be given to the problems of terrorism and drugs in our society, which, by the way, are also of first priority and concern to the EEC process.

After speaking of the results achieved in the second meeting of the mayors of the capitals of the Balkan countries, held in Athens a month ago, the minister for foreign affairs of Greece pointed to the engagement of his country to the establishment of the research institute for Balkan economic cooperation in Athens.

Let me also refer to our proposal for the materialization of contacts among our respective parliaments by creating parliamentary groups of Balkan friendship and multilateral cooperation. Convinced that in this way our parliaments will be directly involved in the Balkan process, we hope that these groups will be soon created.

In overall, Greece believes that it is high time that a new concerted efforts should be made in order to give substance to the deliberations of the meetings held up to this time, in the form of conventional agreements.

Within the framework of Balkan cooperation certain issues of a political nature have been raised in previous meetings. With regard to confidence and security building measures in the Balkans, we are in favour of an appropriate follow-up to the meeting held in Bucharest last year. As to the Albanian proposal to draw up and adopt the principles of good neighbourliness in the Balkans, we believe that bold new initiatives should be undertaken to create an atmosphere of peace confidence and security in the region. This is of paramount importance in view of the fact that the Balkan sub-region is also affected by the impact of the tremendous changes taking shape in Eastern and Central Europe.

In this respect we propose that a meeting of experts should be convened to draft a document which would adopt confidence-building measures along with the principles regulating good neighbourly relations. Such a document should reflect similar understanding and principles of CSCE process, adapted to the conditions in the south eastern Europe.

In other words, the ten principles of the CSCE are the political guide-charter, which represent the new European spirit. Those ten freedoms that constitute the whole philosophy of the Helsinki process are directly linked to peace, security and full respect for human rights of all peoples and of all national, ethnic, religious and other minorities, wherever they exist in our region.

Greece, he said further on, attaches particular importance to the strengthening of ties among the countries of the peninsula, the easing of tensions and the settlement of the problems in that sensitive area. This can only be achieved by the development of close relations among all the Balkan states.

In concluding, the Greek foreign minister said that the positive atmosphere of the multilateral Balkan cooperation will be to the benefit of bilateral relations. Moreover, he said, we wish our cooperation to be realistic and fruitful. Consequently allow me to reiterate once again that we must seek concrete results in putting into material effect the decisions that we take.

We are here, in the beautiful capital of Albania, to lay the grounds for a new partnership in the Balkans, said the minister for foreign affairs of Romania, Adrian Nastase.

From this point of view, our conference has a three-fold significance. It is held at a turning point in the European history. The fundamental changes that have occurred in Europe, particularly in Eastern Europe, after the Belgrade conference as well as the recent unification of Germany have created a new situation on the continent. It is our view that the recent, substantially different

European realities are likely to open new horizons for interaction among our countries, both in terms of magnitude and depth.

Secondly the conference is called upon to draw up a balance sheet of the Balkan multilateral activities during the last two and a half years, and to formulate, on the basis of accumulated experience and of current realities in Europe, new and more ambitious targets for the future. Our conference should open the way for a new stage of implementation of specific projects and programs of mutual interest on multilateral basis.

Last but not least, our meeting takes place at a moment when preparations for the CSCE summit in Paris are being finalized and when the main decisions to be adopted have already taken shape. They have a direct relevance for the goals we are pursuing.

The standards, norms and objectives which have been or will be agreed upon at the European level represent for our countries just a starting point, if we truly want the multilateral Balkan inter-relationship to become a positive factor capable of speeding up the CSCE process.

A requirement of our times is cooperation in economy, science, technology, trade, culture and other spheres directly relating to human progress. In fact, most of Balkan meetings and activities after the Belgrade conference were devoted to these subjects.

The Romanian foreign minister stressed that his country is making specific proposals on the development of Balkan cooperation in the fields of informatics and communications, the creation of a data bank in agriculture and of an institute for medical studies and research, more effective utilization of the mountain resources, small and medium enterprises.

All these proposals are highly topical, in our view, for the economies of our countries. We would like to submit to your consideration also the idea of exploring possibilities and modalities for the Balkan countries to establish a free trade zone.

Tourism, Nastase said further on, has become a major component of economic development. Therefore, the governments of our countries should encourage the building up of a Balkan touristic network, capable of better managing the considerable touristic potential of the region.

An intensified Balkan multilateral cooperation is certainly conducive to an increased confidence and mutual respect between our countries, said Nastase, something, in turn represents an important stimulating factor for this cooperation.

We also believe that attention should be given to the establishment of a set of measures for the strengthening of confidence between Balkan states, which could go beyond the measures agreed upon at the general European level. Confidence-building measures in the Balkans could also include the development of military contacts such as meetings of defence ministers or chiefs of staff as well as contacts in the field of military education including student exchanges.

Finally in the same area of confidence it would be useful to agree on a system of procedure for the prevention and settlement of disputes and tensions between the states of the region.

A reason for which, in the past, the Balkans had the reputation of being "a powder keg of Europe" is tied to ethnical and national minority issues. We are of the view that the new European realities offer conditions for these problems to cease to be an apple of discord in interstate relations. In this spirit, the Romanian foreign minister proposes to work out a code of cooperation of the Balkan states of ethnical and national minority issues.

An efficient cooperation between states in this field could be supported by the establishment of a Balkan research and documentation institute on ethnical and national minorities issues capable of offering governments data and facts concerning the real political, economic, social and cultural situation of persons belonging to ethnical and national minorities and recommending solutions to be adopted at governmental level.

Pointing out the necessity to ensure a certain periodicity of meetings at various levels of decision-making factors from Balkan states, Nastase said, Romania welcomes the readiness of our countries to hold such meetings at shorter intervals, once a year. We note with satisfaction that there is a convergence of views in favour of holding a first meeting of the heads of state or government of our countries. Romania would be honoured to host such a conference.

The development of relations among the Balkan nations in various fields and at different levels, makes necessary the harmonization of these activities at the national level. The creation in our countries of bodies for Balkan cooperation would meet such a requirement.

In concluding, the Romanian minister for foreign affairs voiced the genuine wish of his government to see this conference in Tirana open, by its conclusions and results, a new page in the history of the Balkan cooperation. [passage omitted]

Bulgaria's Gotsev Suggests More Meetings

AU2510113890 Sofia BTA in English 0811 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Tirana, October 25 (BTA special correspondent)—In a greetings address to the second meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries, which opened here yesterday, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of Bulgaria, writes that the vigorous and radical changes under way in the world help the promotion of inter-Balkan dialogue.

In its unswerving pursuit of democratization, the Bulgarian people associates its aspirations for free development and progress with good-neighbourliness and cooperation in the

Balkans, with its integration into a peaceful and united Europe. Dr. Zhelev wishes the ministers of foreign affairs success in their noble efforts to build confidence, cooperation and security in the region in the best interests of the Balkan countries' peoples, in the name of peace on the continent and in the world.

The Bulgarian delegation suggests the establishment of a permanent Balkan Secretariat. "If the other Balkan countries share this view, Bulgaria will be honoured to provide a permanent headquarters of this institution," Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, said, addressing the meeting. He expressed this country's readiness to host the third Balkan ministerial meeting at the end of 1991 and emphasized that conditions are being created to hold a conference of the heads of state or government of the Balkan countries. "We will support the renewal of such a suggestion," he stressed.

Mr. Lyuben Gotsev assured his audience that Bulgaria has embarked irreversibly on the road of democratization and that it will strictly observe the status quo in Europe and in the Balkans and will oppose staunchly any territorial and other claims prejudicing the interests of any one state. In its foreign political actions, Bulgaria will abide by the principles of full national independence and unlimited sovereignty, of realism and pragmatism. "All-state and all-national interests will be placed before everything else, naturally without manifesting political egotism towards other countries and in strict observance of the international standards," Mr. Lyuben Gotsev pointed out.

He said that the strict observance of the UN Security Council resolution on the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait is indeed a heavy burden for Bulgaria as it deprives it of vital raw materials and energy, but it is a matter of principle in this country's foreign policy. Mr. Lyuben Gotsev suggested that in its final document the ministerial meeting expresses the Balkan countries' clear stand on the act of aggression and their readiness for full and effective implementation of the UN Security Council resolution condemning the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait.

The Bulgarian minister discussed the regional forms of cooperation. In their depth and essence they additionally strengthen and enrich the positive tendencies in the promotion of the CSCE process. "We are not interested in being some sort of a closed club, but we are interested in being open, in creating and expanding opportunities for cooperation in all fields with other groups, for the exchange of experience and initiatives. We see the future of multilateral cooperation in its inclusion in the building of a united Europe and, ultimately, as an integral part of the Helsinki process. Proceeding from this, Bulgaria welcomes the Yugoslav initiative that our meeting issue an address to the heads of state of the CSCE participating states at the Paris forum," he said.

The chief Bulgarian diplomat said that Bulgaria believes an ongoing work on the elaboration of specific Balkan confidence and security-building measures, covering the military field as well, is an important priority. At the regional level there are further opportunities which, if realized, would have an exceedingly favourable effect on the political climate in the Balkans and in Europe at large.

In this connection Bulgaria takes a positive view of the idea to draft a document on the principles of inter-Balkan good-neighbourliness. At the same time, this country would like to suggest a meeting of the ministers of defence of the Balkan countries, to be held in Bulgaria in the first half of 1991, Mr. Lyuben Gotsev said.

The minister further discussed the importance of Balkan interaction in environmental protection. "There is hardly a need to motivate again the need of continued work on the Balkan ecological protection convention. We hope that before long the experts will manage to work out and coordinate the text so that the convention could be promptly signed," he said.

Bulgaria believes that more than ever before, the Balkan countries must cooperate in the humanitarian field. The Balkan countries matter to modern Europe not with their problems but with their unity of action.

"We hope that the first meeting on the human dimension of inter-Balkan cooperation, which is due to take place in Sofia, will reaffirm the readiness of all Balkan states to address the humanitarian problems and cultural and information exchanges, taking into account the tendencies and the standards in this field outlined by the CSCE process," the Bulgarian minister pointed out.

Malile Hosts Dinner

AU2510151790 Tirana ATA in English 1040 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Tirana, October 25 (ATA)—The minister for foreign affairs, Reis Malile, gave a dinner on October 24 in honour of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states. Attending were the delegation of the PR [People's Republic] of Bulgaria, headed by Lyuben Gotsev, minister for foreign affairs; the delegation of the Hellenic Republic, headed by Andonios Samaras, minister for foreign affairs; the delegation of Romania, headed by Adrian Nastase, minister for foreign affairs; the delegation of the Republic of Turkey, headed by Ahmet Kurtcebe Alptemocin, minister for foreign affairs; and the delegation of the SFR of Yugoslavia, headed by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs.

Attending were also Pali Miska, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers; Niko Gjyzari, minister, secretary general of the Council of Ministers; Farudin Hoxha, minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers; Alfred Uci, chairman of the Committee of Culture and Arts; Llambi Gegprifti, chairman of the Executive Committee of Tirana District People's Council; Prof. Sofokli Lazri, director of the International Relations

Study Institute; Prof. Dhimiter Shuteriqi, chairman of the Albanian Committee for the Balkan Cooperation and Understanding, and other comrades.

In the course of dinner, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, those present were greeted by Reis Malile, whereas on behalf of the heads of the delegations attending the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states by Budimir Loncar. They toasted to the good development of the proceedings of the meeting and to the friendship among the peoples of our peninsula.

Assembly Adopts Far-Reaching Depoliticization Law

AU2410202190 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Oct (BTA)—The Bulgarian parliament today passed an act amending the Political Parties Act whereby the Army, the police, the security service, the intelligence services, the law courts, the Prosecutor's Office, the investigative services, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the full-time staff of the Presidency are depoliticized.

The passage of the Depoliticization Act was dramatic and put to a test the Bulgarian parliament. Having gone through the first reading, it was blocked last week when it was put to a final vote. The Socialist MP's refused to vote for the depoliticization of the Foreign Ministry and the opposition walked out of the sitting. There was intense talk of a parliamentary crisis, the Grand National Assembly did not convene on Friday [19 October] and the parliamentary committees did not meet, either.

After that consultations began on the initiative of the president, the employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs came up with a statement saying that they want to be nonpartisan, too, and the Socialists and the opposition ironed out their differences on Mr. Andrey Lukanov's government program.

Under the Depoliticization Act, introduced by Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, civil servants may not use their official status in favor or to the detriment of political parties and coalitions and to engage in political activities in their workplaces.

Under the act passed today, the members of the Armed Forces, the paramilitary employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Security Protection Service, the intelligence service, the judges, the public prosecutors, the investigating magistrates, the diplomats and the staff members of the Presidency may not be members of political parties, organizations, movements and coalitions with political purposes. Within one month of the entry into force of the act, they will have to declare in writing that they are not members of any party.

Those who would not leave the party of which they are members will be dismissed.

Conscripts, while doing their military service, may not be party members as well. This paragraph was added to the depoliticization bill submitted by the President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev.

The Depoliticization Act does not apply to the MP's and the government ministers. It will not be enforced with respect to the civil servants in other departments, enterprises and offices until the passage of a Civil Servants Act. Many MP's speaking in the debate insisted on such legislation.

"The reasons for the parliamentary crack-up last week are outside the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and come from opposition quarters," Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, told a news conference in the parliament lobby which was held in connection with the "strained situation in the country which puts to a test civil peace in Bulgaria," as Mrs. Klara Marinova, spokeswoman for the socialist MP's, put it.

Mr. Tomov emphasized that the idea to leave the Foreign Ministry out of the Depoliticization Act came from the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and the Socialists simply went along with it.

According to Mr. Milan Drenchev, leader of the SDS-affiliated Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, the idea was to exempt only the ambassadors from the depoliticization. Bulgaria's historical traditions and the practice of other countries allow certain political figures to represent the country as ambassadors, Mr. Drenchev told the BTA at the end of last week.

"In the debate and the arguments over the Depoliticization Act we expressed our fears lest it set the beginning of a persecution of socialists, Mr. Dimitur Yonchev MP of the BSP told the news conference. According to another Socialist MP, Mr. Filip Bokov, the passage of the Depoliticization Act should be followed by consensus on the government's program.

Asked what was the point of that news conference once that stand of the Socialists was already known, Mrs. Marinova repeated that "tensions in Bulgaria have mounted dramatically". She cited telephone calls to the BSP headquarters and meetings of Socialists with their constituents. She failed to produce specific facts to prove her case.

Explosion at Rights, Freedoms Office in Shumen

AU2510104490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Summary From Poor Reception] "During the night an explosion disturbed the sleep of the inhabitants of Shumen. The club of the Rights and Freedoms Movement was destroyed, and serious damage was caused to the club of the Alternative Socialist Party."

"Correspondent Ivaylo Savov reports" that streets in the area have been closed to traffic, and "the security organs are carrying out checks." "The explosion was indeed a big one, as shown by the glass, bricks, and property which has been thrown more than 10 meters."

An unidentified local militia representative says that an investigation is in progress to determine those responsible for the explosion, and the public will be kept informed by the media.

BSDP's Dertliev on Political, Economic Concepts

AU2410124990 Berlin HORIZONT in German No. 32/90 (signed to press on 9 October) pp 21-22

[Interview with Petur Dertliev, chairman of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, by Gertraude Barth; place and date not given: "Bulgaria Is in Need of Restructuring"]

[Text] [Barth] A very hard winter lies ahead of the Bulgarian population. How do your party and you yourself assess the situation in the country and what steps do you consider necessary to speedily initiate change?

[Dertliev] A very hard winter is awaiting us—the energy balance is disturbed. Iraq owes our country money ($1.4 billion which should be paid with oil), the oil deliveries are very small. The opposition is always prepared to help where it can to cope with the misery that is awaiting our people. There are no differences between the government and the opposition in this question. The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] will use its contacts abroad to facilitate deliveries of oil, sugar, and other necessary things from abroad. The people's supply with foodstuffs is primarily a problem of internal organization. This is completely in the hands of the government.

[Barth] The SDS, to which the Social Democratic Party [BSDP] belongs, rejected all offers from the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) to form a coalition government or a government of national responsibility. The SDS deputies also did not participate in the vote on the newly formed government. What are the reasons for this?

[Dertliev] A coalition would require two equal partners. However, in our parliament the communists have the majority, by which they can determine the fate of the government at any time. They achieved this majority in parliament by very conservative election propaganda, although it is absolutely clear that, as proposed by the opposition, basic restructuring is necessary in our country. The communists' offer does not mean more than the desire to give the opposition a share in the government, so that it assumes responsibility. So far, the totaliarian structure in the country has not been touched, and the participation of opposition parties in the government would only be formal.

For 45 years there was a coalition between the communists and the officious Agrarian Party. The Agrarian Party did not exercise any influence in the past 45 years, neither in legislation nor elsewhere. A coalition is possible in the future, perhaps it will be unavoidable. But this is only possible with equal partners.

[Barth] SDS spokesman Petko Simeonov stated recently that the opposition wants to form a government itself, and this may become possible in the next few months. How do you assess this?

[Dertliev] There is a simple parliamentary rule: One can only form a government if one has the majority in parliament. It is highly improbable that a minority government of the opposition will be formed before new elections. I also doubt the efficiency of such a government. There are only two variants. The first is to actually form a coalition government between the opposition and the forces of the communist party that have changed and are close to social democracy. The second possibility is to order elections in which the opposition might gain the majority in parliament. I am decidedly against minority governments. The problems are so difficult that they require a strong government, and this can certainly not be a minority government.

A View to the West European Social Democrats

[Barth] How many members has the BSDP and what strata of the population are primarily represented in it?

[Dertliev] Our party has a little more than 100,000 members. It is growing very quickly, so that we are somewhat scared. We fear that parts of the former communist party, especially the careerists, will defect to us. But this is currently not the case. People who reject the old system or communists who have gone through a certain development and are now close to social democracy come to us. We have no difficulties whatsoever to admit them. The majority of our members belong to the technical intelligentsia, most of them are between 30 and 50 years old. We also have influence in the country where our members are mostly technically trained experts.

[Barth] What arguments speak for membership in your party? By what do you convince people most?

[Dertliev] By the history of a party that defended democracy. The economic activity in the past also speaks for us. After Denmark, Bulgaria was the second country in Europe that introduced cooperatives. The communists destroyed precisely these free cooperatives and the people's faith in them. We must reestablish both now. Second, we are counting on the wide propagation of the social democratic ideas in Europe. The many years of social democratic governments in Europe have a great influence. The social democratic ideas are currently so successful that they are simply adopted by the communists. In the Bulgarian communist press, one can frequently read the name of Yanko Sakuzov. He was the founder and chief ideologist of Bulgarian social democracy. As early as in 1903, he represented ideas that were, for example, not really applied in Germany before the Bad Godesberg congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]. Now the communists also say that they are adopting his ideas. Another argument is our struggle against any kind of dictatorship, whether left or right. Our party was founded by people who spent a long time in prisons or camps. This gives moral credit to the party.

Reflection on Traditional Economic Forms

[Barth] Can you comment on the BSDP's economic and ecological program?

[Dertliev] We are in favor of the social market economy, with the term social being emphasized. We rejected, for example, the monopoly of state property, but we do not want to replace it by another monopoly. Reprivatization is not the only possibility for us. We advocate equal competition between private, municipal, public, and cooperative property. We envisage a considerable reduction in the present state property. I have already mentioned that great cooperative traditions exist in Bulgaria. We had banks that belonged to cooperatives and cooperatives in the tobacco industry. Even in the smallest village there was a cooperative which bought the agricultural products and sold goods to the peasants. The population was familiar with these cooperatives, at that time even the right parties had to adopt and accept this. This idea was compromised by the communists. In the course of the restructuring process, we also want to reestablish the old cooperative form together with reprivatization. We want to see the cooperatives as we founded them—free and efficient.

But we also do not plan to reject everything that developed in the past. In the agricultural sector we will support the private farms and the cooperatives where the peasants want this. The difficulties of economic restructuring must not weigh on the socially weak strata of the population, that is, the pensioners, the sick, and the children. We would prefer Mitterrand's social federation to Thatcher's model.

As regards ecology, it is easier to write a program than to implement it. If we close 10 enterprises that do great damage to the ecology, we might have 100,000 more unemployed. It is an illusion that these problems can be immediately solved. There are far richer countries than Bulgaria which have great difficulty in solving environmental problems.

[Barth] You are here as a guest at the SPD congress. What is your view on German unification?

[Dertliev] The Bulgarian people, as well as the BSDP, welcome Germany's unification and, of course, the unification of the social democratic parties. Germany has always been a useful and reliable economic partner. And the German social democracy always inspired ideas and hopes in difficult times. Marxism became completely known to the Bulgarians because of Kautsky's interpretation, and he managed to preserve our party from Leninist influences. Later, at the time of the Stalinist dictatorship, personalities like Kurt Schumacher, Erich Ollenhauer or Willy Brandt gave us the certainty and the hope that freedom will also come to our country. Thus, we owe them a certain debt of gratitude.

[Barth] How do you see the future of the Warsaw Pact?

[Dertliev] This is an organization that is at the end of its existence. I hope that defense pacts of this type will not be necessary in the future. The security of the individual peoples should be guaranteed by the United Nations. Since the East-West conflict has been largely settled, the international situation has calmed down, which holds out hopes.

[Barth] You mentioned that your party has now been reestablished by people who were in prisons or camps. You yourself were imprisoned for many years. Do you not have feelings of hatred or revenge?

[Dertliev] No. It is maybe a curious fact but the feelings of revenge are stronger with people who have not suffered. We who were in camps and prisons understand that there would be an endless cycle of violence and misery for the people if we were to react to violence with violence. Our misery can be remedied, if we achieve democracy, freedom, and prosperity for the country and for our people.

In contrast to the communist party, we are also of the opinion that the people who were in camps and prisons are not entitled to privileges. We have striven for an ideal, and we do not want to have material privileges for it.

BSP Leader Lilov Meets Belogradchik Constituency

AU2410150390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 23 Oct 90 p 2

[Ninko Gruev report]

[Text] Belogradchik, 22 Oct—Today People's Deputy Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, met with his constituents in the No. 70 Belogradchik Electoral District. The people in this lively region of the Balkans showed interest in their town's future, suggested ideas, and expressed opinions.

Aleksandur Lilov stated that the main thing now is for the provisional administrations of the municipal people's councils and the townships to immediately deal with settling problems connected with the changing of people's names, and for the court and the Prosecutor's Office to tackle corruption, violations, and abuses.

At a meeting with the provisional administration of the Belogradchik Municipal People's Council, its chairman, Engineer Vladimir Zhivkov acquainted Aleksandur Lilov with the most acute issues which await solution.

In the afternoon Aleksandur Lilov continued holding meetings and talks with his constituents in Dimovo Municipality.

Agrarian Party Reorganizes Own Publishing House

AU2410145690 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 23 Oct 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Organization of Book Publishing—In Step With the Social Changes"]

[Text] At the beginning of this year the foundations were laid for the "Tsanko Tserkovski" Publishing House, on the basis of former Publishing House of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]. Within a very short time this important element in the union's propaganda system restructured its creative policy in accordance with the overall democratization of sociopolitical life in the country. All this raises the requirement for a new organization of book publishing activities.

At a session held on 22 October, the BZNS Permanent Board conducted a detailed examination of the memorandum from Danko Dimitrov, general director of the "Tsanko Tserkovski" Publishing House, and gave its consent for carrying out the necessary changes in this exceptionally important political and cultural institution of the Agrarian Union.

Yordan Radichkov Relieved of Assembly Position

AU2410203290 Sofia BTA in English 1913 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Oct (BTA)—This evening the Grand National Assembly reconsidered the Radichkov case. The MP's granted his request to be relieved of his duties as national representative.

Mr. Yordan Radichkov, a well-known Bulgarian writer, was elected to parliament on the party list of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. He was active in the Socialists' election campaign and addressed a number of rallies.

When parliament went into session, Mr. Radichkov said he wanted to have time to write his books and asked for a termination of his mandate. The television aired footage (not before Mr. Radichkov publicly relinquished his seat) in which he committed an indiscretion, saying that "everything had been fixed." The opposition reacted strongly to the use of the name of the famous writer for socialist propaganda. In the ensuing row, Mr. Radichkov's request was turned down.

He was finally dismissed from parliament today, nearly two months later. Mr. Radichkov has not attended a single sitting of the Grand National Assembly.

Militia Acts Against Striking Sailors in Varna

AU2410152290 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 23 Oct 90 p 1

[Khristo Dobrev report]

[Text] The conflict between the sailors and the management of the Administration for Maintaining Port Sea Channels and Water Areas developed over several months, until a strike committee was formed at the end of September. This committee observed all legal requirements and handed a declaration to Peycho Manolov, the administration's chief. The main demand contained in the declaration was to review the system for introducing the new wages system and to make adjustments in line with the legal documents. The declaration also called for the quashing of all illegally imposed disciplinary penalties and for the legal prosecution of the persons who have committed violations of the requirements relating to labor protection.

Since then, endless negotiations and lengthy machinations have been in progress to ensure that neither the strike committee nor the administration's management break the law. In the course of a month, the crews of the ships "V. Kolarov," "Perun," "Pioner," the floating crane "Atlas," and other vessels, including the workers in the repair shop, have gone on strike three or four times.

"We started negotiations with the management at the very beginning," said Dushko Zotev, the strike committee chairman, and added: "At one time the talks were making progress, but we sensed that the management was set on dragging them out, in order to gain time. We sought help from everyone: Some came to our aid, while others did not. Finally, the management took us by surprise with an underhanded action. Our ship was transferred to the Bulgarian Maritime Fleet Steamship Company, but without a crew, leaving almost 40 people without a job. Several times they brought us forms for us to sign off the crew list, the last time was on Thursday [18 October], but we refused to sign. The militia then came and cordoned off the ship. They called us together in the saloon and read us an order from the public prosecutor. They warned us that force would be used if we did not leave the ship voluntarily.

It is not offensive, but shameful that sober, reasonable men should be put in such a situation. It is shameful because the militia is being used as instrument to protect bureaucratic interests. Dushko Zotev assessed the situation and invited his colleagues to leave the ship, leaving only a duty watch on board. For almost 20 hours the militia remained on board and did not know what to do, until the sailors made use of the opportunity granted by the visit of Transport Minister Atanas Popov to Varna. He annulled the contract between the administration and the Bulgarian Maritime Fleet Steamship Company and promised that this time the negotiations would be held with his representative. Today the captain of the "V. Kolarov" announced to the crew that Peycho Manolov, chief of the administration, had resigned. This marked a fresh start on new talks.

Doncho Donchev, member of the Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, offered the following comment on the incident:

"We have several meetings and supported the strike of the sailors of the Administration for Maintaining Port Sea Channels and Water Areas," he said. "Their demands and actions are completely legitimate. I am glad that we also found a common language with the representatives of the "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation and the Sailors' Trade Union. The Alliance of Transport Trade Unions acted very sluggishly. We were amazed by the stubbornness of the administration's management and the company. The use of the militia to break a strike is an unprecedented incident in the history of the trade union movement. Masis Khadzholyan, the deputy district public prosecutor, issued an order to the militia to remove the crew and the strike committee without considering Article 123 of the Labor Code and without bearing in mind the provisions of the Law on Collective Labor Disputes. He exceeded his powers and acted only on the basis of subordinate legal documents. Labor disputes have always existed and will continue to occur, but they must be settled on the basis of the law, not on the basis of the emotions and wishes of certain individuals.

Power Plant Chief Views Winter Supply Problems

AU2410153990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
22 Oct 90 p 1

[Vanyo Stoilov report]

[Text] Radnevo, 21 Oct—The Maritsa-East Economic Trust may be able to achieve an output of between 1,800 and 1,900 megawatts when operating at full capacity, but the 1,000-megawatt generating unit at Kozloduy is once again likely to cause disturbances—this is the forecast of Ruse Danev, the trust's chairman.

Although maintenance and repairs are running late, the Maritsa-East power plants and miners are just as well prepared for the winter this year as they were last year, even though this year there is an even more severe shortage of basic materials.

This shortage will be made good through the workers' skill and labor, but most of all at the expense of their nerves; a high price will be paid for each day. What is more, a further shortage is emerging, namely of manpower.

Engineers Blamed for Sep Tanker Train Accident

AU2410111390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
18 Oct 90 p 1

[Boris Kostadinov report]

[Text] The two train engineers Andrey Priturgov and Dicho Atanasov are blamed for the railroad accident at Kalofer station on the night of 29 and 30 September, in which 19 tanker cars were derailed. This was announced on 17 October by Atanas Tonev, chief inspector for traffic safety of the Bulgarian State Railways Company.

The train was traveling at about 91 km per hour. The drivers did not obey the indications of the entry [vkhodniya signal] and warning signals, which clearly showed that the train was to be switched onto a sidetrack. Atanas Tonev stated that according to the engineers' regulations this maneuver requires the train's the speed to be reduced to 40 km per hour.

The accident occurred when the locomotive crew had completed over six hours of their shift. The two engineers come from the Burgas locomotive depot. The engineer was born in 1965, and his assistant in 1951. They have no previous offenses and have no disciplinary penalties have been imposed on them.

The losses caused at Kalofer Station amount to about 300,000 leva, arising from damage to the railroad cars and the track, plus the cost of restoring normal traffic movements, representing an additional 12,000 leva. The total value of the freight carried has not yet been officially announced by the company. During the accident the flames consumed 318 tonnes of gasoline, 110 tonnes of gas oil, 171 tonnes of propane-butane, and 102 tonnes of fuel oil, the chief inspector for traffic safety announced.

In connection with the accident, it was established that a poor standard of control existed in the Burgas locomotive depot, in the railroad administration in Plovdiv, and in the locomotive division of the Bulgarian State Railways Company. For this reason, Peycho Kirov, chief of the railroad administration in Plovdiv, his deputies Georgi Andreev and Ivan Stoitsev, and Miloslav Kolev, director of the Locomotive Division of Bulgarian State Railways, were penalized with a 10-percent deduction from their basis salaries. Dimitur Rashkov, chief of the locomotive depot in Burgas, received one month's loss of seniority.

The Bulgarian State Railway Company has taken measures to improve traffic safety. The regulations for the conveyance of liquid petroleum derivatives have been changed, a survey of the permanent way is in progress throughout the country, and an examination is being made of the condition of the freight rolling stock.

Diplomatic Efforts To Resolve Ruse-Giurgiu Issue

AU2410203190 Sofia BTA in English 1837 GMT
24 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Oct (BTA)—Mr Ivan Kandradzhiev, chief of Department Two of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, singled out the Giurgiu-Ruse ecological problem as the number one problem in Bulgaro-Romanian relations. "Without a durable solution to this problem, progress in our relations with neighboring Romania is hardly imaginable," he said, speaking at a regular press briefing on the steps taken by the Bulgarian diplomacy for an international expert inquiry into the more than nine-year-long gassing of the city of Ruse from the Chemical Works in Giurgiu. The inquiry will be organized by the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) in mid-November and will involve, among others, Bulgarian and Romanian experts. In addition, Bulgaria has agreed through diplomatic channels that Romania take part in the international expert examination on the site of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant between November 11 and 23, which will be conducted by representatives of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Mr Kandradzhiev said that a good atmosphere has been created in the diplomatic channels between the two countries so as to make the best possible use of the assessments and recommendations of the UNEP experts. The diplomat identified two periods in the efforts to solve this serious and intricate problem: before and after November 10, 1989. He said that during the first period the main reason for the failure to find a solution was the totalitarian approach taken by the former leaders of the two countries. It was mentioned that between 1965 and 1987 Todor Zhivkov and Nicolae Ceausescu met 39 times.

Under the circumstances, the new leaderships of the two countries are seeking opportunities for an objective settlement of the problem. Following a meeting between Prime Ministers Andrey Lukanov of Bulgaria and Petre Roman of Romania, a common understanding was reached on the formation of a group of experts to draft all recommendations for the conduct of an international expert examination.

Zhelev Receives Turkish State Minister Celebi

AU2410203490 Sofia BTA in English 1858 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Oct (BTA)—The favourable prospects for the promotion of good-neighbor relations and of economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Turkey in all fields were noted at the meeting which Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, held here today with Mr. Isin Celebi, minister of state for economic affairs of Turkey.

The Turkish guest said his country was prepared for wide-ranging economic cooperation with Bulgaria, including fruitful business contacts of a new type, within the Ankara-suggested Black Sea economic cooperation zone.

After the meeting Mr. Celebi told the press that he sees no obstacles to the support by the two Balkan neighbors of the plans for a Black Sea "Common Market". The Turkish minister said this idea has fine prospects.

Mr. Celebi said he was markedly optimistic about the future of bilateral relations. He is convinced that now all conditions are available for sincere good-neighbor contacts.

Turkey is ready to help Bulgaria overcome its grave economic problems by marketization know-how on the basis of the experience which Ankara has amassed over the last few years, a knowledgeable source in the Presidency told the BTA.

In addition Turkey offers the Bulgarians assistance in the delivery of electricity, oil, foodstuffs, forages and other prime necessities which are in short supply here.

Mr. Celebi conveyed to the Bulgarian head of state cordial greetings from Mr. Turgut Ozal, president of Turkey.

Republics' Independence Said Threat to Soviet Army

AU2510083790 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 23 Oct 90 p 4

[Ivan Yordanov article: "An Army Without Soldiers?"]

[Text] The declarations of state sovereignty adopted almost simultaneously this year by most of the Soviet republics are not merely "dreams of liberty on paper," as certain shortsighted political figures described them. They already pose a real threat to the existence of the multinational Soviet Army in its present form, with all the consequences arising from this.

Last week the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, under pressure from the students who declared a hunger strike on 2 October, who were joined by many lecturers, office employees, and workers, adopted a special decree in connection with the students' demands. The document states that, until a new constitution is adopted, the Ukraine will not sign the new Union Treaty, that parliament will discuss the question of nationalizing the property of the CPSU and the Komsomol on the territory of the Ukraine, and that a referendum will be held in 1991 in order to settle the question of the legitimacy of the present Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. It is also mentioned that Ukrainian young men will complete their compulsory military service on the territory of the republic, and will only serve outside the republic if they specifically request this.

If we focus our attention only on the military aspect of this decree, it is completely logical to ask ourselves what the national composition of the Soviet Army will be in the future, all the more because, as has recently become known, similar decisions have also been adopted by the parliaments of Azerbaijan and Armenia. I am sure that the day is not far off when legal acts will be passed providing for the citizens of every republic to fulfill their compulsory military service only on the territory of the particular republic.

What will happen then? Will the Soviet Army be left without any soldiers? Will a Soviet Army exist at all?

As yet nothing can be stated with certainty, but the decisions of the parliaments indicate that a process is underway toward the creation of national armies. Although at present the question of the conscripts is the only one being raised, the problem of the officers, ensigns, and sergeants will logically follow. Can we imagine that an army made up of Ukrainians and deployed on Ukrainian territory will be commanded by officers and generals of other nationalities? And will Russian be needed as a statewide language, if both the soldiers and officers are Ukrainian?

However, all this is only the tip of the problem. For example, I would like to know what the national composition of the crews of nuclear submarines will be: Will they be Armenians, Azeris, Russians, or who? What will the structure of the Armed Forces of the USSR look like in general? What will happen with the strategic missile troops? Who will serve in these units, and on whose territory will they be located? Who will make the decisions in the General Staff and who will carry them out? Will the military laws be identical in content? Will changes occur in the structure and functioning of the defense industry?

To sum up, these questions mean that it is not known whether the Soviet Union will remain a great military power, nor is it known what effects this change will have on world peace and the stability existing at the moment.

I am convinced that the issues of defense will be decided in some way or other in the new union treaty which, sooner or later, will be signed. Yet, however heretical it may sound, the present facts at least indicate that the Soviet Army can no longer exist in its present form, and that the day is probably not long distant when it will be transformed into a coalition army.

Zhelev, Lukanov Meet International Bank Official

AU2510144690 Sofia BTA in English 0831 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, October 25 (BTA)—Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, and Mr. Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, yesterday held meetings with Mr. Moeen A. Qureshi, senior vice president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Mr. Qureshi emphasized that the bank can allocate funds after making sure that deep-going structural changes are taking place in Bulgaria.

Aid may be granted in connection with the Gulf crisis.

Havel Issues Order of Day on Anniversary

LD2510123490 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] President of the Republic Vaclav Havel has issued an Order of the Day on the 72d anniversary of the birth of the independent Czechoslovak state.

In it he recalls that the creation of the independent state was the culmination of the longstanding struggle for our national rebirth, for the fulfillment of ideals of national sovereignty, humanism, and democracy. The modern struggle for democarcy culminated in the revolutionary events of 17 November last year which brought about a fundamental change in the social system. This is also reflected on the international stage where Czechoslovak is striving actively to overcome the obsolete bloc concept of security in Europe. We want to live in friendship with all nations of the world, the president's Order of the Day says, but in the case of need, however, we are determined to defend our sovereignty. And a decisive role in this will have to be played by the Czechoslovak Army—an army imbued with a spirit of democracy and humanism which will have the necessary respect in the society of which it is an integral part.

New Minister Dobrovsky Hold 1st News Conference

LD2410193890 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Today, Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky met newsmen for the first time since acquiring his new post. Speaking about the Soviet Union's request to postpone the Warsaw Pact summit meeting, he said:

[Begin recording] The Soviet side told the president through Ambassador Pankin that it had very serious internal political reasons which were conducive for its asking the Warsaw Pact member countries to postpone the session of this supreme body of the Warsaw Pact. [end recording]

In a discussion on changes in the Army, Mr. Dobrovsky expressed the view that it is not possible to democratize the Army in an (?undisciplined) way. If public attacks on this institution continue, it will not be able to resolve its problem. He said that what the Army needs right now is peace.

The newsmen also learned that the minister has suspended several members of the Free Legion leadership from their posts, and that this morning he issued an order suspending the attestation of career soldiers.

Federal Government Session Takes Place 20 Oct

Several Bills on Agenda

AU2410145990 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "New Laws From the Beginning of Next Year"]

[Text] In view of the fact that 25 October is approaching, the date by which bills must be submitted to the Federal Assembly if they are to come into effect on 1 January 1991, the Saturday [20 October] session of the CSFR Government had on its agenda several bills: the draft amendment to constitutional law No. 143 of 1968 concerning the arrangement of the CSFR economy, the draft law on the budget rules of the federation, the draft law on prices, and the draft law on the protection of economic competition.

In the first part of its session, the government approved the draft constitutional law on the nationalization and distribution of the property of the former Socialist Youth Union.

The government then approved the draft law on refugees, the urgency of which arises from the inflow of foreigners to the Czechoslovak territory. The law will come into effect on 1 January 1991. It respects UN conventions on refugee status, the rights and duties of refugees, and the procedure of state authorities in granting the refugee status.

The government approved a draft constitutional law which changes and amends the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation. This draft governs relations between the economies of the federation and the republics and creates legislative prerequisites for new relations between their budgets. The law is of a temporary nature only, until a new CSFR Constitution is adopted.

At the same time, the government assigned to Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus the task of drawing up a bill on the CSFR Financial Council. All three ministers of finance will be its members.

Revenues of the independent state budget of the federation will include revenues from federal sources such as the revenues of federal central bodies, fees paid within the federal republic's sphere of competence, levies from the Czechoslovak State Bank, and customs duties. Another and, in fact, the crucial source of the federal budget's revenues will come from the appropriate portion of the proceeds of other taxes and levies, which will be divided between the federation and the republics. The federal budget will get 30 percent of the proceeds of the turnover tax and excise duties as well as 30 percent of the proceeds of the profit tax and the agricultural profit tax. The precise share of the federation in the proceeds of designated taxes can be specified in the annual budget laws. The Slovak Republic Government opposed the fixing of this share once and for all directly in the law and demanded that this share be determined every year anew while drawing up the budget. The adopted conclusion that the federation's share in the proceeds of taxes be enshrined directly in the law was endorsed almost unanimously. At the close of the session the government approved the bill on prices and the bill on the protection of economic competition.

The bill on prices has six parts. The individual parts concern the definition of the term price, the regulation of prices and types of prices from the viewpoint of regulation, the keeping of price records, information on prices, as well as price control, including sanctions.

The draft law on the protection of economic competition provides for the founding of an anti-monopoly institution. This institution, which is common abroad, will be called the Office for Economic Competition.

The draft amendment to the law on mitigating some property wrongs, which is known as the property restitution law, is motivated by the effort to maintain the operation of existing diplomatic missions and consular offices of foreign countries in Prague. Under the draft amendment approved by the Federal Government in order to fill at least in retrospect an awkward loophole in the law's original wording [which the Federal Assembly approved as recently as 2 October this year], CSFR bodies and organizations in charge of meeting the CSFR's obligations in the area of diplomatic relations will not have to vacate buildings that have been rented out to foreign missions. The original owners will only be able to claim financial compensation.

Budget Arguments Noted at Session

AU2410145890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Vladimir Cechlovsky report: "Arguments About Tax Revenues and Jurisdiction"]

[Text] Prague (from our own correspondent)—Separating the state budgets, giving them absolute autonomy and abolishing appropriations from one to another was how Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus characterized the government's basic concept for next year's budget management. He made this statement at a news conference on Saturday [20 October] following the Federal Government's extraordinary session.

He stated that the government approved a draft constitutional law amending relations between the state budgets and a draft law on the so-called budget regulations. Funds for the federal budget should come from 30 percent of the overall turnover tax revenue and consumer taxes, 30 percent of the revenue from levies on profits, agricultural taxes, income from the federal central organs, fees paid within the federation's sphere of competence, levies from the Czechoslovak State Bank, and all customs duties. V. Klaus also stated that there was a great deal of argument about the size of these quotas and about whether the distribution of this income between the federation and the republics should be permanently determined in advance by law or always be determined from year to year.

Government press spokesman Z. Fiala added that the Slovak Government demanded that decisions be made on these quotas when the budget is being drafted. It argued, in particular, for extraordinary transitional expenses to assist in the conversion of the armaments industry.

Minister Klaus expressed his view that these quotas be determined in advance so that each republic has to endeavor to stay within its assigned budget. If we created tight budget restrictions for the enterprises alone and not for the republics, we would go from the frying pan into the fire, stated V. Klaus. The government unequivocally supported this point of view in a vote.

According to V. Klaus, arguments on jurisdiction issues caused friction about the other draft laws which the government discussed—laws on prices and economic competition. However, the government adopted a united standpoint here. It proposes only one office for economic competition and not two or three of these institutions. V. Klaus stressed that the purpose of the antimonopoly law will not only be to punish enterprises for monopolistic practices, but—first and foremost—to break up today's monopolistic structures.

In reply to a RUDE PRAVO question about the course of action in dealing with the impact of devaluation, V. Klaus stated that the Finance Ministry's proposals will be discussed on Monday [22 October] at an extraordinary session of the government's economic council. According to the minister, in no way will the consequences of devaluation be resolved with assistance from the state budget or by compensating those who made profits and losses on them. In this connection, he said that devaluation will have pricing consequences. "According to our calculations, devaluation implemented on the overall price level will have an impact of 3.1 to 3.2 percent in 1991."

Some of the ambiguities which have arisen in society in connection with the government's decision to nationalize property belonging to the former Socialist Youth Union were cleared up by Minister of Control Kvetoslava Korinkova. She emphasized that the state does not want to acquire this property for itself. This property should devolve to all the children's and youth organizations and—through the special purpose fund supervised by the Ministry of Education—should also serve so far unorganized children's and youth organizations. Apparently, such a step is only being taken because, to date, there has been no success in redistributing property by a voluntary agreement.

Z. Fiala also stated that the government has appointed Jiri Brabec first deputy minister of foreign trade and Martin Palous deputy foreign minister.

Federal Assembly Discusses Privatization Draft

Klaus Addresses Assembly

LD2510084590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1343 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Address by Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus before the Federal Assembly in Prague during 24 October debate on draft privatization legislation—live]

[Text] The draft bill you are about to discuss is unusual in every way. Among other things, it came into being under circumstances which resemble standard legislative procedures very little. Allow me to recall some of the starting points of this process.

On 21 August this year, that is, two months ago, the Economic Council of the Federal Government, with the participation of ministers of the republic governments, proposed that it is possible and appropriate to divide the process of privatization into two basic parts—into the privatization which today we call small-scale privatization, and into the rest, or large privatization.

On 17 September, your Federal Assembly approved the government economic reform scenario, and with it the part which speaks of the need for the radical privatization of our economy. Here, therefore, it was decided once and for all that the process of economic transformation must necessarily encompass the extensive transfer of state ownership into ownership by private entrepreneurial bodies.

The draft bill on small-scale privatization was prepared—at a pace which is, regrettably, characteristic of today's legislature, and which is still insufficient in relation to the ever faster changing economic reality—so that on 27 September it could be discussed at a joint session of all three governments in Kromeriz. On 9 October Federal Assembly committees began discussions on this bill.

Preparation and discussion of the bill was accompanied by exceptional public interest. While very few people doubted the vital need for the privatization process, it was apparent that views concerning the fundamental principles and criteria according to which this process should be carried out still differ considerably. There are roughly three basic groups of questions. First, requirements emerged to exclude certain types of property from privatization. That is the first problem. This was followed by proposals that some social groups should be preferred to a greater or lesser extent during the privatization process. Finally, thirdly, there were also diverse views concerning the extent, or if the new owner of a privatized business should be limited in his future entrepreneurial intentions. One extreme would require the new owner to be told who he can and cannot employ, what he must do in his business, and that he cannot transfer his newly acquired property, at least for a certain time, to other people.

All these requirements are the natural manifestation of something which we were very well aware of earlier. Privatization is as exceptional a process as the nationalisation process. Therefore, it is a politically extremely significant process and the inhabitants react very sensitively to it. The draft being put forward, and I would like to emphasize this, is therefore necessarily a compromise which cannot satisfy all interested groups entirely. The draft which we are putting forward is, rather, an attempt to minimize cases of injustice inevitably linked to the process of economic transformation, to a greater or lesser extent. Above all, the bill favors our own citizens in relation to foreign subjects by offering property under privatization to our own citizens first, and only then to foreign persons. Among our people, the bill gives increased chances to people who acquired business premises in the past under so-called economic leasing. According to the draft put forward, these people have a certain right of priority buying. The bill also attempts to protect those whose property could in the future become subject to reprivatization, or people who will have their property returned according to the already valid bill, or according to bills passed in the future.

Considerable attention, by the public and by deputies has been paid to the stocks issue. Since the very beginning there have been two basic alternatives: either to sell premises without stocks or, on the contrary, to turn stocks into an integral part of that which is—in the framework of the small-scale privatization—offered for sale. The submitted solution favors the second of these two alternatives. Thus: he who buys trading premises will have to buy the stocks with them.

Finally, my last comment concerns the legislative and technical complications which met the drafting of the bill. The process of small-scale privatization is being implemented in conditions when the existing legal system is in a great motion. It has to be in a great motion. Existing legal norms complicate the privatization process very much, and new legal norms, unfortunately, have not yet been created. The bill which you will be discussing had to introduce some terms unknown to our valid legal system. Among other things, it has been necessary to introduce the very instituton of public auctions.

Similarly, a serious problem was how to draft the bill so it does not close the way for those norms we will debate in the near future. These are not only bills correcting wrongdoings in property issues, but also such norms as the bill on property of communities which is being prepared.

All these norms, as we know well, are being created in various places, often on the initiative of deputies themselves, that is, at your initiative. The Federal Assembly, by this means, gets itself into a very difficult situation since its Constitutional and Legal Committee is the only—and in any case the last—place where the mutual consistency of the newly created legal norms can be ensured. I am aware of the difficult character to his role.

I would like, therefore, to thank the Constitutional and Legal Committee for the patience with which it approached the draft bill proposed by us, and for its contributions which have without doubt improved the quality of the originally submitted draft bill. Thank you for your attention.

'Small Privatization' Debated

LD2510084490 Prague CTK in English 1602 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 24 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly today began discussing the much-awaited bill on transfers of state ownership to other legal or natural persons, the official name for what is generally known here as the bill on "small privatization."

The bill, due to take effect on December 1, 1990, applies to shops and services that are not the subject of the law on restitution, passed earlier this month, but does not apply to the rights of persons residing outside Czechoslovakia.

Under the bill, shops and services selected by the pertaining republic bodies will be owned by legal or natural persons on the basis of auction, with all participants in the auction having equal rights. This is a difference compared with the original anticipations that the current employees would have an advantage to pay part of the value of the shops and services at a long-term credit. Exceptions are only the present users who concluded contracts on economic lease and can buy a shop or service at least five days before the auction at the upset price. The buyer is obliged to pay the auctioned price of the shop or service including stocks within 30 days, if he fails to do so the unit will be sold at a new auction.

The bill stipulates the duties of the new owner and sanctions if he fails to observe them. New owners can be exclusively citizens of Czechoslovakia.

Interior Ministry's Intelligence Service Abolished

AU2410123690 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 20 Oct 90 p 3

["(JaD)"-signed report: "Six Hundred Officers Dismissed"]

[Text] Prague—As we reported yesterday, in connection with the reorganization of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, the ministry's intelligence service has been abolished in accordance with an order issued by Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos.

On Friday [19 October] we learned that approximately 600 employees from the abolished office have been transferred to the active reserves during the three month period of notice. Following this period, they will be dismissed without the right of appeal from service in the Federal Ministry of the Interior. This provision corresponds to the amended law on the reorganization of the Federal Ministry of the Interior.

Interior Minister Jan Langos told us that a new intelligence service will be established on completely different principles. Its work will concern, first and foremost, international crime, drugs, and terrorism.

Possible Political Reasons for Changes

AU2410144690 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 22 Oct 90 p 2

[Rostislav Rod commentary: "Dissolution of the Ministry of Fear"]

[Text] At its session on Thursday [18 October], the Federal Government recalled Federal Deputy Interior Ministers Andrej Samel and Miroslav Kral in connection with the reorganization of the ministry. For the same reason—officially—Minister Jan Langos abolished the Czechoslovak Intelligence Service and made certain that its documentary material was locked away. He transferred almost 600 people to the active reserves and prohibited their entry into their former workplace. Apparently, the necessary intelligence service will be provided by reliable people.

Let us try to analyze the political climate within the Interior Ministry and to find reasons for the year long status quo often excused by the screenings, ambiguities in jurisdiction, and personnel disputes all of which—allegedly—took place in the interest of purging the department.

Powerful and repressive forces interlinked with the intelligence services' information network come together in the Federal Interior Ministry. These facts and the opportunities associated with them attract politicians to this ministry much more than to any other ministry. Early on, Richard Sacher was chosen as minister. The state's castle leadership proceeded from the premise that it knew how a minister would dispose of this spectacular power and in which direction development would be oriented. At that time the remaining posts in the ministry were divided overwhelmingly between the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] and the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement. However, fundamental conceptual changes, which would have reflected development in society, were not implemented during this period. Minister Jan Langos should have become the champion of this cause. Theoretically, he had advantageous conditions —the VPN movement and the Civic Forum [OF] occupied the important posts.

However, in reality the situation was not so unequivocal. Two main tendencies crystallized in different ways at the ministry. One resulted from the OF's ambiguous structure and the other represented—in essence—the more radical VPN movement controlled from Bratislava. Other political parties and, of course, the old—a mixture of ex-communists—employees of the department were also numbered among them. The amateurism which the new people brought with them to the ministry was not left behind. The resulting vector of these forces operated in such a way that specific steps could only be taken now.

At a time when jurisdiction and republican ties between politicians have been cleared up. Otherwise it is difficult to imagine that deputies who are VPN movement representatives would be "recalled." The recent departure of Deputy Minister Ivan Prusa, who "represented" the Federal Government, also supports this theory.

Of course, it is impossible to overlook other facts. Perhaps others will be added to the, so far, unexplained Orfei affair. A week ago THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, a British newspaper, stated—with reference to senior officials from the British secret services MI5 and MI6—that Czechoslovak spies are continuing their activities in Great Britain and are sending their information to Moscow by established routes. Apparently, this is happening because our government has no control over the intelligence service. This event could even mark the beginning of the creation of a new form for the former ministry of fear. Let us only hope that the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, the service providing internal intelligence, will continue and will soon be separated from the ministry.

Free Legion Protests Against Suspension

AU2410154690 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Oct 90 p 2

["(BAU)"-signed report: "The Free Legion Raises an Objection"]

[Text] The first order issued by Lubos Dobrovsky, the new CSFR defense minister, temporarily suspended the Free Legion's activities throughout the Czechoslovak Army until an investigation is conducted by the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy. Yesterday we asked Warrant Officer Vlastimil Hanke, the organization's spokesman, to give us the Free Legion's point of view:

"I am not sure whether the minister's order complies with the valid legal code. I also do not understand why our activity is to be investigated by the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy and not by the Military Prosecutor General's Office. This would correspond to our status. Finally, we have not carried out our activity within the Army, but in society and in our own free time."

Warrant Officer Hanke also mentioned that no one has yet informed the Free Legion of the reasons why its activities have been suspended and he rejected the claim made against the organization by Colonel Petr Tax, the defense ministry spokesman, at Wednesday's [17 October] news conference.

10 Right-Wing Political Parties Meet in Brno

AU2410153690 Prague PRACE in Czech 22 Oct 90 p 2

["(JS)"-signed report: "The Aims of a Strong Right-Wing"]

[Text] Brno—Sixty representatives from 10 right-wing political parties and movements in the CSFR held a meeting of the Czechoslovak Congress in Brno on Saturday [20 October]. The meeting had been convened by the Radical Republican Party. One of the main aims of this party is, for example, to purge the right-wing republican movement of its ultra right-wing tendencies, whose origin lies in the conduct of and, in particular, the statements made by M. Sladek. Participants in the Brno meeting agreed to establish a new coordinating organ whose main aim will be collaboration among all the right-wing parties and movements in the CSFR. A strong right-wing in the spectrum of CSFR political parties would like to positively influence negative phenomena in the legal, economic, and moral spheres.

Poll Indicates 82 Percent Will Vote in Elections

AU2410122690 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 19 Oct 90 p 3

[CTK report: "An Opinion Poll on the Local Elections"]

[Text] Eighty-two percent of voters intend to cast their votes in the local elections. However, 33 percent do not know that, in comparison to June, a slightly different system will be applied this time and 55 percent of citizens have only a foggy idea about how voters should proceed in the electoral premises.

Compared to the same period prior to the elections to the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council, and the Slovak National Council, public knowledge about the local elections is worse now than it was in June. This was made clear in nationwide polls conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research from 1 to 5 October. A total of 716 citizens representing a characteristic sample of the entire CSFR population over the age of 15 answered questions. Since it is expected that participation in the elections will be high, it can be deduced—according to the institute—that the public attaches a great deal of importance to the local elections. Only one-third of citizens expects, however, that the situation will improve in their places of residence within a year; one-fourth does not expect any changes at all and one fourth thinks that the situation will even worsen. Almost one-fifth do not know how to answer this question.

Only 16 percent of voters intend to give all their votes to only one political party or movement. These are mainly people to whom the candidates' political affiliation is more important than their personality. Most respondents stated that they wanted to give at least one vote to Civic Forum [OF] and Public Against Violence [VPN] movement candidates (53 percent); votes for independent candidates come second (46 percent). The "strongest" party in Slovakia is the Slovak National Party [SNS] (43 percent). Approximately one-third of voters intend to give at least one vote to the Green Party [SZ] (34 percent) and to the Christian parties and movements (31 percent).

The poll has also shown that, during the period from September to October, people—to a considerable extent—had the same impression about the local elections as they had about the parliamentary elections. This is why they gave the best chances of winning the elections in their communities to those parties which ran for the Federal Assembly and National Councils, that is, 39 percent for the OF and the VPN movement. The OF's position in the Czech Republic was significantly better than the position of the VPN movement in Slovakia. Christian parties (13 percent) and the SNS in Slovakia (14 percent) were most often cited as the probable winner in the local elections. Five percent tipped the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia as the winner and the same number tipped independent candidates.

ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY on Conflict With Publisher

AU2410144890

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 19 and 20 October carries several items devoted to the newspaper's conflict with its publisher, the Czech Ministry of Agriculture, and the conflict's outcome.

The 19 October issue of the newspaper is published with the words "Strike Alert" displayed in large type across an otherwise mostly blank front page. The only other item published on this page is a 500-word "Statement by the ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY Editorial Staff," which explains the decision of the newspaper's staff to go on strike alert. The statement notes that on 17 October Bohumil Kubat, Czech Republic minister of agriculture, appointed Mr. Oldrich Janalik as new director of the ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY state enterprise, ignoring the demands of the ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY editorial staff that Petr Schoenfeld, the ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY chief editor, be appointed to this post. The statement points out that the appointment of Janalik, whose "abilities and moral qualities" are known to the ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY staff from his work in the newspaper until 1987, is "absolutely unacceptable" and it warns that, unless Bohumil Kubat cancels this appointment, the newspaper will go on strike as of 22 October.

On the same day, on page 2, ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY carries a 600-word article by Vaclav Bouda and Jiri Cepelak entitled "The Minister Once Again Made Use of 'His Right'." The article reviews the history of relations between Minister Kubat and ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY since Kubat's appointment to the post of minister, stressing that the minister has always resented ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY journalists for their critical reporting on the work of his ministry. Bouda and Cepelak express the opinion that the installation of Oldrich Janalik was motivated by the endeavor to change the newspaper's critical line and turn it into a "mouthpiece of Dr. Kubat."

On 20 October, on page 1, ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY carries a 400-word "Joint Communique" issued on 19 October by Minister Kubat and the ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY "strike committee." According to this communique, Bohumil Kubat agreed to cancel his decision to appoint Oldrich Janalik to the post of director of the ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY state enterprise and to expeditiously discuss the request of the ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY staff that the newspaper be converted into a joint-stock company. Petr Schoenfeld, the newspaper's chief editor, will continue to manage the ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY state enterprise. At the same time, the strike committee agreed to call off the strike alert.

On the same day, on page 2, ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY carries a 100-word unattributed report claiming that—according to information available to ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY—Oldrich Janalik has been a "secret collaborator" of the StB [secret police] since 1974. He was registered with the Prague StB branch under the code name "Opavsky" and was charged with "working against" a number of prominent dissidents, including Vaclav Havel.

On the same day, on page 3, ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY carries a 350-word undated interview with Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the Civic Forum [OF], by an "le"-signed ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY correspondent. In the only question, Klaus is asked whether he believes that the "latest chain of Minister Kubat's ill-considered appointments of directors or deputy directors of various enterprises falling under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Agriculture contributes to the popularity of the OF [which Minister Kubat represents] before the communal elections, especially in the countryside." Klaus replies that the OF intends to deal only with basic strategic decisions and conceptual issues and that it will not become involved in decisions on who should or should not be an enterprise director. He says that the OF recommended Bohumil Kubat for the post of minister and will continue to support him, without interfering with his specific decisions.

Government Daily on Outcome of CPSL Congress

AU2410154390 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Oct 90 p 1

[Bartolomej Izarik report: "Duel of Platforms; The Last Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia Ended"]

[Text] Presov—Although a large protest demonstration was expected before the opening of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Congress in Presov on Saturday [20 October], nothing of that sort happened. Later on, some delegates regretted the absence of demonstrators because this would have accelerated the differentiation of views.

The congress was attended by 422 voting delegates and 63 nonvoting delegates. Even before the congress started, CPSL Executive Committee Chairman Peter Weiss told NARODNA OBRODA that at the congress the CPSL would cease to exist as a territorial organization of the

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The delegates would declare it as an independent political party operating in the Slovak Republic. Both the congress debate and the discussions in sections reflected the clear-cut positions of various platforms in the party. As the election of the party chairman on Saturday night demonstrated, the reform wing, represented by Peter Weiss, emerged victorious from the congress. The congress elected him as new party chairman by a majority of 11 votes.

Asked by NARODNA OBRODA at his first news conference [as reelected party chairman] whether the party is in danger of being split in the current situation, Peter Weiss said: "The process of differentiation that became apparent at the congress proceedings will definitely continue and it is impossible to rule out that some will disapprove of the party's new orientation and will set up a party of their own." The much-debated issue of a new party name was closely linked with this problem. In the end the congress opted for a double name, the final version of which is CPSL—Democratic Left Party [KSS—Strana Demokratickej Lavice]. The CPSL—Democratic Left Party Central Committee will decide about a possible complete change of the party's name (by leaving out its part) by a minimum of three-fifths majority when the legal, domestic political, and internal party conditions for such a change arise. Members of the [word indistinct] will be informed about this name change beforehand. The congress elected Pavol Kanis as the party's candidate for the post of chairman of the Federation of CSFR Communist Parties. In the evening the delegates acknowledged some documents submitted to the congress and approved the congress resolution. In other words, the party did not split but the preponderance of the reform platform has been demonstrated—as is confirmed, among other things, by the approval of the party's new name.

Slovak Official Comments on Meciar-Andras Affair

LD2410170990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Interview with Slovak National Party Chairman Vitazoslav Moric by station correspondent Ivan Miertan on 23 October at Trade Union House in Bratislava—recorded]

[Text] [Moril] First I will speak about my view and this will be without comment. The listeners can make up their own minds. The point is that this is not a question of the premier of the government versus the minister of interior. It is a question of conflict between something which smacks of the past and something which is completely new here. As far as I know, [Interior Minister] Mr. Andras does not have a political past. Mr. Meciar does have one. This is our starting point. This is what I would like to point out.

The second point here is that it seems to me that Mr. Andras represents a kind of peak at the Ministry of Interior, and he is a sort of representative there. As far as I know, it is the deputy ministers who have the executive power, and these are people who were put in place by Mr. Meciar.

[Miertan] Do you think that a premier who is not at the executive helm, and there is no doubt that the Ministry of Interior is such a helm, can exist and function as a premier responsible to the nation.

[Moril] I do not know whether there must always be such a helm. There should be one, it should be democratic, but the way in which the views on this are being exchanged—which I hear even go as far as mentioning baths in the Tatra Mountains—I think this is rude and it is political bad manners which bears certain witness to a certain political schizophrenia.

[Miertan] Let us return to the question which is worrying the government the most, which is the question of the bill on the Slovak language. The Slovak National Council should discuss it on Thursday afternoon. What will the Slovak National Party do to insure that this bill is adopted by the Slovak National Council?

[Moril] I do not think that this is the worrying question. Can anyone go against the nation when 82 percent of the nation asks for the Slovak language to be recognized as the single state and official language on the territory of Slovakia without exception? What kind of government is it to go against this; what kind of legislative body is it? It seems to me that this legislative body is not the Slovak National Council, that is the Slovak Nationality Council. What kind of politicians are they who represent the rights of the minority and turn their backs on their nation, on their constitutional nation. Naturally, the attitude of the Slovak Party is that there will be protest actions, and I think that in the end our language, our Slovak language, will be recognized as the state language. I think that these people have some kind of sense after all, and if they do not, then it is their loss.

[Miertan] And if they do not have it, and if the Slovak National Council does not approve the proposal from matica [Slovenska], what then?

[Moric] We will propose a referendum, a referendum on the Slovak language, and thus a referendum on confidence in the Slovak National Council—or the Slovak Nationality Council; as you like.

[Miertan] We are now looking to the future, so one more question: What are the ambitions of the Slovak National Party; what about the future?

[Moric] The ambitions of the Slovak National Party are clear—to serve the nation and nothing more.

Meciar Addresses Support Rally in Bratislava

LD2510092490

[Editorial Report] Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 1730 GMT on 24 October carries a four-minute report by Jan Janosik on a rally in support of Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar in his conflict with Interior Minister Anton Andras which took place in Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava. It was attended by thousands of people, and Janosik describes the atmosphere. Premier Meciar is welcomed shortly after 1700 local time with applause and chants of "Long live Meciar," and occasional chanting in support of the Slovak language is also heard. The report continues with voice recordings of citizens in the square expressing their views on the issue, all in support of Meciar, some expressing regret that such a situation had arisen.

The report continues by briefly quoting the speakers at the rally: Slovak Culture Minister Ladislav Snopko, a representative of the University Union; (Anton Popovic), Democratic Party Chairman Jan Holcik, and writer Hana Ponicka.

Janosik continues: "Slovak Government Premier Vladimir Meciar was then welcomed on the platform. Mr. Meciar described the conflict with Minister Andras with the words: If you are taking the wages, then take on the work; if you take on a higher office, then take on greater responsibility. We will be better off at home and at work if the right people are in the right places. He also pointed out that members of the government must serve all citizens and not be responsible to the party they represent. The premier also spoke about talks with the Federal Government. Concerning the coalition, he added that agreements will continue to be valid and they do not wish to break up the coalition. He did not leave out tomorrow's session of the SNC [Slovak National Council], where the bill on the Slovak language should be passed. He concluded his short speech with the words: I wish to serve you. I wish to work for you, and I will not go to Prague to a higher office. That was the close of the meeting in support of our Slovak premier."

'Internal Opposition' Established in VPN

AU2410174590

[Editorial Report] Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 22 October publishes several items devoted to a meeting of "some Public Against Violence [VPN] District Coordinating Committees" in Trnava on 20 October, which discussed the "establishment of a right-of-center platform within the framework of the VPN." The Trnava meeting is also the subject of a 500-word Ivan Hoffman commentary in Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Slovak on 22 October on page 8.

Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 22 October on pages 1 and 3 carries a 1,200-word interview with Arpad Matejka, chairman of the Trnava District National Committee and "one of the main organizers of the Trnava meeting," by VEREJNOST correspondent Lubos Kriz, entitled "Did a Bomb Explode in Trnava?" The place and date of the interview, which deals with the Trnava meeting, are not given.

Matejka (who, as Lubos Kriz explains, used to be a member of the Slovak VPN Council but was not reelected to this body at the last VPN Assembly) says that the aim of the Trnava meeting was to "discuss ways of returning to the VPN its popular and national character. We wanted the voice from below, from the grassroots, from the districts to resound stronger and to be heard and accepted." He explains that the VPN supporters who met in Trnava represent the movement's "right-of-center faction," which, according to Matejka, was defeated at the last VPN Assembly "by means which were not quite clean and democratic."

Asked whether the Trnava meeting marked a split within the VPN, Matejka says: "No. We established ourselves as a clearly defined right center of the movement. In our opinion, no social organism can live without an internal opposition and the VPN lost its internal opposition after its last assembly. There must be currents within every movement. We do not want more than that. Unanimity of views on everything is not possible."

In the body of the interview, Matejka explains how the views of his "right-of-center platform" differ from those of the VPN leadership. He criticizes, for example, the fact that the VPN lost initiative to the Slovak National Party [SNS] regarding the national question. In his opinion, the Slovak language law should have been initiated by the VPN, together with the Slovak National Heritage Foundation. The coalition proposal for the language law came too late and the VPN was forced to jump on a moving train.

Matejka also believes that the VPN leadership has neglected the newly formed trade union movement, making it possible for communists to dominate trade unions. On social issues, Matejka objects to the statement by Fedor Gal, chairman of the Slovak VPN Council, that the VPN will not get involved in personnel issues and in the solution to social problems at workplaces. On the problem of Romanies, Matejka advocates a "radical solution" and "a more rigorous action" against Romanies who "violate laws and the norms of our coexistence." On the issue of privatization, Matejka disagrees with the opinion that one cannot distinguish between "clean" and "dirty" money and calls for measures that would render it impossible for "mafiosos" to "launder" their money in the upcoming privatization process.

In his closing remarks, Matejka discusses his platform's ideas regarding personnel questions. Matejka says that his platform wants the VPN to be headed by Vladimir Meciar as a "protagonist of the national program" and as someone who "enjoys authority." The VPN Coordinating Center ought to be chaired by Jan Budaj. Matejka's followers have "reservations about" Peter Zajac and Fedor Gal and believe that "they should go." Juraj Flamik, the current chairman of the VPN Coordinating Center, is a "good lad," according to Matejka, "but the responsible post he occupies is, in the opinion of many, detrimental to his personal growth."

On the same day, on page 2, VEREJNOST carries a 600-word statement adopted by the participants in the Trnava meeting. The statement reiterates some of the points of criticism contained in the interview with Arpad Matejka. It calls for greater "internal democracy" within the VPN, criticizes the VPN's "defensive approach" to the national question and the "declining attractiveness of the VPN in the eyes of the public," demands "more offensive" steps against the surviving "structures of the old regime and the Marxist-Leninist ideology," and advocates the movement's greater involvement in the solution to "specific social, personnel, and other problems at workplaces." The signatories of the statement believe that a solution to the above problems lies in "personnel changes and in the reconstruction of central VPN bodies so that districts and regions can take part in the formulation and implementation of the VPN policy." The signatories call on the Slovak VPN Council and the VPN Coordinating Center to enter into a dialogue with them and to jointly discuss their "proposals and demands" by 27 October.

On the same day, on page 1, VEREJNOST carries a 500-word statement by Juraj Flamik, chairman of the VPN Coordinating Center, entitled "On the Trnava Meeting." Flamik welcomes a "candid discussion between VPN members on all topics and problems of the movement." He objects, however, to the "conspiratorial manner" in which the Trnava meeting was convened, charging that the organizers intended to "keep it secret from members of the VPN Coordinating Center and the Slovak VPN Council." Flamik also criticizes the organizers of the Trnava meeting for not having complied with "internal democratic principles" and accuses "some participants" in the meeting of "having gone beyond the framework of a working meeting and having raised demands that do not respect the priorities which our movement and Slovakia face at present." According to Flamik, there are three such priorities at present—the passing of laws amending the division of the spheres of competence between the federation and the republics; preparations for the local elections; and the passing of a language law. He concludes his statement by saying: "Support for real steps leading to the solution of these priorities forms the dividing line between critical dialogue and the personal ambitions of individuals, ambitions which could, in their consequences, cause the destabilization of our movement and of society."

The Ivan Hoffman commentary on the Trnava meeting, entitled "A Conspiratorial Meeting?," carried by Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Slovak on 22 October, states: "For a relatively long time already, it has been possible to observe two factions within the VPN. One part of the movement's members feel bound by their ideas of 1989, the other by the movement's popularity in the nation in those days. The first group ponders ways of defending democratic ideals against the growing wave of national and social intolerance, while the second group contemplates how to ingeniously jump on this wave.

"The last trial of strength [between the two groups] took place at the recent VPN Assembly. The supporters of the second line left the assembly without concealing their disappointment. They did not succeed in enforcing a change in the electoral system and, hence, a direct election of the VPN chairman by the participants in the assembly. Had they succeeded in enforcing this change, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar would have most probably become the movement's chairman (in the election of the VPN Council, Vladimir Meciar received 204 of 235 valid votes, while Fedor Gal, who came second, received 165 votes)."

Hoffman believes that the "newly emerging faction" which met in Trnava is united only in its "discontent with the declining popularity of the movement and its leadership" but that it lacks unanimity in its ideas on "where to channel this discontent."

Slovak Social Democratic Party Chairman Interviewed

LD2510075990 Bratislava Domestic Service In Slovak 1100 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Interview with Slovak Social Democratic Party Chairman Boris Zal by correspondent Igor Matlon following a news conference with representatives of the Slovak Social Democratic Party in Bratislava on 24 October—live or recorded]

[Text] [Matlon] Mr. Chairman, what is the standpoint of the Social Democratic Party as a center left party, on the crisis situation which now exists in the Slovak Government?

[Zal] In this connection we are unequivocally behind Premier Meciar. We are convinced that the premier should have the right to direct the ministries, that the Ministry of Interior cannot be directly influenced by the Christian Democratic Party [KDH], and that the question of the competence of Mr. Andras is clear in a negative sense.

We had proof of this ourselves a few months ago when we asked for his resignation in connection with his standpoint on the plaque to Dr. Jozef Tito which was unveiled in Banovce nad Bebravou. In this situation it is not possible to allow a certain political party to have direct ambitions to rule certain parts of the state apparatus because, in our view, the state apparatus should serve the public interest and not the interests of a single political party.

[Matlon] At the news conference you also expressed the idea that Public Against Violence [VPN] has become a brake on the development in Slovakia at a certain stage, and that it appears that the situation within VPN is connected with the crisis which has arisen in Slovakia.

[Zal] I said that VPN has become a brake on the crystallization of political forces in Slovakia, not development in Slovakia, because the idea of a certain nondifferentiated citizens movement was very good until February 1990. After February 1990 it was necessary to create a situation for the formation of normal political groupings and parties would correspond to a normal parliamentary democracy functioning in Europe.

Because PAV did not do this, today the situation exists that the differentiation within VPN in fact threatens the stability of the government because it is a coalition government headed by VPN. Thus, the differentiation of political forces is made difficult once again. This crisis situation, this crisis potential within VPN because it is a hybrid, nondifferentiated movement, will threaten stability in Slovakia for some time to come.

Slovak Syndicate of Journalists Elects Chairman

AU2410214490 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 20 Oct 90 p 1

[Dagmar Belakova and Viktoria Kmetova report: "Protecting our Freedom of Speech?"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—The Czechoslovak Union of Journalists ceased to exist following its extraordinary congress in January of this year. The Slovak Syndicate of Journalists, whose delegates met in Bratislava yesterday at their first regular assembly, has become its successor organization maintaining a legal continuity in the Slovak Republic. [passage omitted]

The assembly elected a 51-member Slovak Syndicate of Journalists Council which elected a Presidium, three deputy chairmen, and a chairman at its first session. Julius Gembicky was elected the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists chairman.

UN Delegate Cited on Future Nuclear Development

LD2410111690 Prague CTK in English 1005 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] New York Oct 23 (CTK correspondent)—In the future construction of nuclear power plants Czechoslovakia does not want to be technologically dependent only on the Soviet Union and will therefore invite tenders from foreign firms, Czechoslovak permanent representative in the UN Eduard Kukan told the UN General Assembly here yesterday.

In a discussion on the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) he announced that according to a Czechoslovak Government's decision inspectors of the Agency, as well as all UN employees, will be allowed to travel to Czechoslovakia on business without visas.

Calfa Receives Ryzhkov Invitation To Pay Visit

LD2410162690 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Federal Premier Marian Calfa, received Boris Pankin, the Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, in Prague today. The latter gave Calfa an invitation from Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov to a working visit in the Soviet Union to take place on Tuesday 30 October. All unresolved matters of mutual economic relations will be discussed, including the supply of basic raw materials for our economy.

Extradited Soviet Soldier Asks for Asylum

AU2410122390

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 20 October on pages 1 and 2, under the headline "Addressee: President Havel; A Letter From Private Maslyaev," publishes the text of a letter by Soviet soldier Aleksandr Maslyaev who on 17 April applied for a political asylum, and who, because of bureaucratic misunderstanding, was handed over to the Soviet authorities. Maslyaev, who is now serving in Kazakhstan, writes to Vaclav Havel: "Mr. President, I would like to ask you for assistance so that I could in the near future leave for Czechoslovakia and live there permanently."

Ambassador on Relations With Poland, Havel Regime

AU2410131990 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Jun 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with CSFR Ambassador to Poland Marketa Fialkova, by Pawel Ziolek in Warsaw; date not given: "The Second Stage of the Revolution"]

[Text] [Ziolek] It looks as if the enthusiasm that accompanied the "velvet revolution" and the excitement surrounding President Havel and the elections are subsiding. Czechoslovakia has also entered a difficult period of solving economic problems and implementing reforms.

[Fialkova] It is true that our revolution is proceeding to the second stage. Parliament is debating new economic legislation, some of which has already come into force. Small-scale privatization, involving shops, restaurants, small enterprises, and workshops will be carried out in November. The employees in these places will be able to pay 50 percent of the price in installments spread out over five years. We plan to carry out this operation over a single weekend, so as to rule out speculation and give the best possible chances to employees.

[Ziolek] President Havel's government is very active in the international arena. In the West, Skubiszewski's realpolitk [German word used] is frequently contrasted with your president's idealism. However, your reaction to Poland's plans to build a new Central Europe has been cool. Unlike Budapest, Prague does not approve of Poland joining the pentagonal group that was formed last year.

[Fialkova] One cannot compare Skubiszewski's realism with Havel's idealism. Poland has had a concrete issue to settle—the recognition of the Odra-Nysa [Oder-Neisse] border, which the CSFR supported. President Havel has been talking of a united Europe in which borders possess a diminishing significance. Minister Dientsbier is trying to pursue such a policy. Confidence between European countries must form the cornerstone of this policy.

As far as the second part of your question is concerned, I do not know where you got the information that Prague does not want Poland to joint the pentagonal group. That is a group of countries that are cooperating with each other, and right now it is open to cooperation with Poland in certain matters, e.g. transportation and the environment.

[Ziolek] How do you view the problem of borders, a very delicate one for us?

[Fialkova] There are three aspects of this issue—a foreign policy aspect, a legal aspect, and an economic aspect. It is the aim of our foreign policy to enjoy the best possible relations with Poland. As far as the legal aspect is concerned, Czechoslovakia has unilaterally suspended, for political reasons, the 1959 agreement on border traffic. From the legal point of view, we have two possibilities today; either to implement this agreement, or cancel it. And here we encounter economic problems.

There is a great disproportion between our economies. A free-market economy is spreading in Poland, but the Czechoslovak economy is still in the initial phase of this process. Free market prices and the domestic convertibility of the koruna are meant to be introduced on 1 January 1991. With price increases, and at the present stage free market prices do involve price increases, mass purchases of goods are a normal phenomenon and cause shortages in shops, especially in border areas.

Unfortunately, we have recently witnessed an anti-Polish campaign in the Czechoslovak media. I wish to stress that our press is independent and is seeking an image of its own, as is usually the case during transitional periods. I think the problem of opening up the Czechoslovak-Polish border is a typical surrogate problem. The Czechs and Slovaks, frustrated with the planned price increases, the effects of transferring to a free market economy, and the local government election campaign (the election takes place next month), are afraid of Poles, whose image in their eyes is, unfortunately, still the one molded by the negative publicity of the 1940's. We have to take this into account.

[Ziolek] What do you think of the phenomenon of growing Slovak separatism?

[Fialkova] Judging by the number of press articles on the subject and speeches by its supporters, it is not as great a threat as it seems. The number of ardent separatists is not all that great, but they have the support of influential Slovak emigre communities in Canada, the United States, and Australia. The problem of Slovak statehood and national identity has been glossed over ever since the war, that is why it is being discussed so intensively now that there is freedom. The first major historical works on this subject are appearing only now.

[Ziolek] Czechoslovakia has decided to send forces to the Persian Gulf, which came as a great surprise to the Poles, who were used to a somewhat Svejk-like image of the Czechs.

[Fialkova] The possibility of sending troops to the Gulf has been discussed since the very beginning of the crisis, so the decision ought not to come as a surprise. However, it is a slight exaggeration to talk of troops. We are only sending 200 experts on chemical warfare, including a number of doctors, and all of them are volunteers. Although Czechoslovakia has no tradition of actively defending its independence, we have never been indifferent to the problem of force, the application of superior strength against the weak. And sending this rather symbolic unit is an expression of our protest against such practices.

Majority Wants Polish Border Contact Restrictions

AU2410153390 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 22 Oct 90 p 1

["(fuk)"-signed report: "Opening the Borders, but...."]

[Text] Prague—At the beginning of October, the Institute for Public Opinion Research conducted an opinion poll into citizens' attitudes toward the introduction of small-scale border contacts with Poland. Four percent of the citizens were in favor of its introduction without restrictions. A total of 85 percent of the respondents required some restrictions (34 percent are in favor of restricting exports and imports by imposing duties, 17 percent deem it necessary to introduce visa obligations, and the remaining 34 percent require a combination of both). Seven percent of respondents—mostly from the border area—do not recommend the introduction of small-scale border contacts with Poland. Only four percent of respondents did not know how to answer this question.

Sudeten German Property Auction Plan Protested

AU2410154990 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 22 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

["zc"-signed report: "Reconciliation With Strings Attached; The Sudeten Germans Have Not Renounced Claims to Their Property"]

[Excerpt] Bonn—Sudeten German Landsmannschaft spokesman F. Neubauer has sent letters to CSFR President V. Havel and FRG Federal Chancellor H. Kohl in the last few days. This follows from a report published by

DEUTSCHER OSTDIENST (DOD), the information service of the Association of Expellees.

The DOD drew attention to the fact that the association will continue to pay heed to the issue of the property of members of the Sudeten German ethnic group that had been confiscated in Czechoslovakia and that it will represent the Sudeten Germans' property claims. The Sudeten German Landsmannschaft looks forward to the future negotiations with optimistic expectations.

According to the DOD, on 16 October F. Neubauer sent a letter to President Havel, in which he deals with the problem of the confiscated property. The DOD published the following passage from the letter: "Should the CSFR take such a far-reaching unilateral step (i.e. the rejection of all claims of the Sudeten Germans—ed.), it would mean the collapse of all efforts at settlement and reconciliation."

In his letter of 17 October sent to Chancellor Kohl, Neubauer called attention to the problem of the Sudeten German property and asked the chancellor for support in this matter. He wrote, among other things: "A development has started in the Sudeten German area that could be exemplary for all of the expellees' cause and become a model for future European developments. The intention of the CSFR outlined above would dash all these hopes at one blow...." [passage omitted]

German Minority Organizations Merge, Adopt Name

AU2410150890 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Oct 90 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "Reports" column]

[Text] The Cultural Association of CSFR Citizens of German Nationality and the Union of Germans in the CSFR merged at a conference in Prague and adopted the name Union of Germans—Cultural Association [Zvaz Nemcov—Kulturne Zdruzenie]. The approximately 150 delegates to the conference approved new statutes, elected new central bodies, and discussed the future tasks of this organization, which associates about 8,000 members at present. Walter Sitte became the organization's new chairman.

Prime Minister Diagnosed as Having Lymphoma

LD2410174890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Jozsef Antall is undergoing a biopsy. The reason for this, according to authoritative government sources, is that a lymphoma [nyirokosomo daganatok] has been diagnosed. Whether this is malignant or not will be known only after the examinations.

Signs Indicate Antall Will Not Visit Israel

LD2410151490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Announcer-read report on remarks by Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Herman at a news conference on 24 October; place not given]

[Text] According to the signs, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall will not be visiting Israel next month after all; at least, his trip is being postponed. This is what emerged at the briefing by the Foreign Ministry spokesman. In fact, journalists noticed that the prime minister's trip to Israel did not figure on the list of state leaders' visits. Janos Herman said, verbatim, at this moment it cannot be asserted with absolute certainty that Jozsef Antall will visit Israel. He also announced that at the request of the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact session scheduled to take place in Budapest at the start of November has been postponed.

Fur Statement on Rehabilitation of 1956 Fighters

AU2410111890 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 21 Oct 90 p 3

[Letter by the Defense Minister of the Republic]

[Text] Freedom fighters! Soldiers! Fellow soldiers!

I greet you on the occasion of the approaching national holiday of the Hungarian Republic, namely on the anniversary of the 1956 revolution and fight for freedom.

Our fight began 34 years ago; the Hungarian revolution of the autumn 1956 was the first in Europe to fight back against a dictatorial regime alien to us, which served superpower interests. Our revolution was drowned in blood at the time, but nevertheless, nowadays, as a result of our long struggle, we are able to live as free citizens in a free country again. History proved us right. Our present peaceful revolution has guaranteed the entire scope of human rights for all the citizens of the Hungarian Republic, it has restored human dignity, it has put an end to an era of falseness and deceit, it has put an end to the oppression of a nation, and it has given this nation the opportunity to progress.

One of the first measures taken by our freely elected parliament was to pass a law on the significance of the 1956 revolution and fight for freedom, and it paid tribute to the courage and endurance of the people who took part in the struggle. Our government preserves and protects the memory of 1956. We pay homage to the people who risked their lives to fight against dictatorship and regain our national independence. We make amends to the people who were slandered unfairly, who were deprived of their freedom and means of existence, and who have put up with the humiliation with lowered heads. The new defense leadership is acutely aware that, during the retaliations that followed the 1956 revolution, professional and reserve soldiers were discharged from the Army in an illegal manner, they were excluded from their profession, they were stripped of their ranks, and, in several cases, they were even deprived of their freedom, or of their means of subsistence.

Our intentions are clear, but our possibilities are limited. Apart from political and moral rehabilitation, we cannot offer complete financial compensation or make amends for all the injustices suffered. We have to concentrate most of our efforts on eliminating the economic bankruptcy that we have inherited and on halting the moral decline and further descent of our country. In trying to deal with the difficult duties of our change of regime, we have to rely primarily on our own strength, for we cannot reclaim wasted time or economic means from anyone.

We hope to heal the wounds that have been inflicted during the past, but we know that we have neither the financial nor the legal means to put everything right. We understand your pains; they are incurable pains suffered as a result of legal infringements and humiliations. We are aware of the serious consequences that are irreversible at this stage. The new leadership of the Defense Ministry strives for the quickest possible moral rehabilitation of all our slandered fellow soldiers so that their honor may be restored as soon as possible.
Budapest, 20 October 1990
Dr. Lajos Fur

Radio Chief Orders Memorial Plaque Dismantled

LD2410140290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] [First announcer] The only incident to occur at yesterday's commemoration of 23 October happened here on our doorstep, at the Broody Sandor Street entrance of Radio House, where there were still two plaques which commemorated 1956, one inside the entrance on which the names of the dead revolutionary guards [karhatalmistak] were engraved, and another outside the gate which was installed last year by the opposition roundtable in memory of the victims of the siege. Well, yesterday afternoon the plaque outside was broken up and removed. According to certain eyewitnesses, the participants were protesting on behalf of the Christian National Union and the Hungarian National Party. In connection with the incident, Csaba Gombar, president of Hungarian Radio, issued a statement today:

[Second announcer] Yesterday the memorial plaque on the wall of Radio House was damaged and removed by extremist and rash forces. This plaque was installed in

1989 by the opposition parties of the eighth district [of Budapest], the Historical Justice Committee, and Hungarian Radio in memory of the victims of the battles around the radio building. Inside the radio building there is another memorial plaque which is the memorial of the conscript soldiers serving in the AVH [State Security Authority] corps who fell in the defense of Radio House. At the order and on the responsibility of the president of Hungarian Radio, this plaque remains in its place to this day. At the same time, this memorial plaque has lately become a source of many tensions. It is not the aim of Hungarian Radio to become a trigger for political news. In the interest of appeasement and reconciliation, and so the constitutional political forces are able to commemorate every victim in a worthy way and in some new form, the president of the Hungarian Radio has had that inner plaque dismantled.

[Signed] Budapest, 24 October, 1990, Csaba Gombar.

Court Rules Death Penalty Unconstitutional

LD2410161290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Gyorgy Mey report on the session of the Constitutional Court; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Mey] The Constitutional Court has declared the death penalty unconstitutional. The nine-member body did not achieve a unanimous decision, because according to the independent view of Dr. Peter Smidt, such a decision belongs to parliament. Five constitutional lawyers formed so-called parallel opinions and thus agreed with the decisions on the basis of different arguments. According to the preamble, the Constitution declares that every person in the Hungarian Republic has the right to life and human dignity and nobody can be arbitrarily deprived of these rights.

There is another constitutional provision which is relevant to determining whether the death penalty can be authorized, which states that regulations concerning fundamental rights and duties can be established by law. Even the law, however, cannot place limits on basic human rights. The Constitutional Court found that provisions of the criminal code recommending the death penalty conflict with this principle and, therefore, declared them null and void.

Jeszenszky on Pact Meeting, Aid for Germans

LD2510084390 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by unidentified correspondent following a news conference at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Budapest on 24 October—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The events of the past week were summarized at the news conference of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs this morning. Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky was present and gave an interview to Newsreel. Before we broadcast this interview, let me say that in the future regular foreign policy meetings will be held on a similar basis.

[Correspondent] Until now, we understood that the Warsaw Pact conference, which was to be or will be held in Budapest, would precede the one in Paris. Now the situation has made an about-face.

[Jeszenszky] We have decided—unilaterally, it must be said—that it would be unproductive to hold such an important consultation prior to Paris; it is much more logical to sit down shortly after Paris for the consultations that originally were scheduled to take place in November.

[Correspondent] During your visit to Germany, your statement was published in which you declared that the Germans who were forced to suffer the humiliation of deportation [kitelepites] have as much right to compensation [kartalanitas] as the Hungarians deprived of their properties. We are talking about at least 200,000 people. Is it a stance of principle or is there money for this, too?

[Jeszenszky] I would say that it is more than a stance of principle, but it is not simply an issue of money. There is no means whatsoever for compensation which would be in full or approaching full payment in terms of value. We must offer moral justice under any circumstances. Regarding the Germans, we are merely thinking of reparation [karpotlas], just as it is the case with the Hungarian citizens.

President Jaruzelski Vetoes Sejm Land Bill

LD2410181190 Warsaw PAP in English 1653 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 24—President Wojciech Jaruzelski has sent a letter to the Sejm announcing that he would not sign the draft law on land management and real estate expropriation.

The president has motioned for a review of the bill in its section relating to the sale of land owned by the State Treasury and local governments to foreigners.

This is the first time President Jaruzelski has vetoed a bill.

Moves Made To Suspend Jaruzelski, Impeach Rakowski

LD2410173890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] The Sejm speaker has informed the Sejm Constitutional Responsibility Commission that he and the speaker of the Senate have been addressed by the Polish League for the Defense of Human Rights in order to present the Constitutional Tribunal with a resolution for the suspension of Wojciech Jaruzelski from carrying out his duties as president and to undertake proceedings against him. The league accuses him of activity detrimental to the interests of the state and citizens in the past period.

The Constitutional Responsibility Commission today began investigating a resolution from the extraordinary commission for the analysis and evaluation of the outgoing government on the constitutional answerability of former Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski—the charges are associated with the decision to liquidate the Gdansk shipyard—and also the initial resolution signed by 59 deputies to make Mieczyslaw Rakowski, former Deputy Prime Minister Kazimierz Olesiak, and former Ministers Mieczyslaw Wilczek and Andrzej Wroblewski, penally and constitutionally anwserable to the Tribunal of State. The charges are the case of the Gdansk shipyard, the transformation of Igloopol into a company, and allowing a significant budget deficit.

Walesa, Other Candidates Registered for Elections

LD2510020190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] At 1418 [1318 GMT] the State Electoral Commission (PKW) carried a green box with 122,000 signatures and other documents indispensible for the registration of Roman Bartoszcze, who was nominated by the Polish Peasants Party (PSL) Supreme Committee, as a candidate for president.

A moment later the electoral staff of Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz supplied the parcels in which there were the 236,404 signatures supporting his candidature for president of the Republic.

The PKW also officially registered Lech Walesa today.

Walesa Presents Presidential Program in Poznan

AU2410103690 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 19 Oct 90 pp 1, 5

[Krzysztof Wyszkowski report: "Poland in Europe"]

[Text] Lech Walesa commenced the presentation of his presidential program at a rally in the Arena Hall in Poznan on 12 October. He intends to hold regular meetings to discuss individual, thorny issues that will form part of his program prior to the 25 November elections.

Poznan was certainly the right place to discuss Polish foreign policy goals.

The chief objective of Walesa's program is to firmly and consistently aim toward European integration. For Walesa, Poland's associate membership in the EEC, followed by full membership in the not too distant future, is a basic objective which he considers to be the best guarantee of lasting security and economic development for Poland. Therefore it is with regret that he indicated the lost chance presented by the collapse of communism in Poland and the delay in holding elections, which resulted in the rejection of Poland's application to join the Council of Europe.

Walesa views the whole of Polish foreign policy through the spectrum of Poland's active involvement in the process of European integration, coupled with full respect for our national identity and statehood. He placed future relations with the united Germany in this context. "The time has come to overcome the prejudice caused by the partitions and world wars," he said. "We must commence cooperation with the united and integrated Germany without any complexes. We should renew the centuries-old traditions of peaceful cooperation. The border along the Odra and Nysa [Oder-Neisse] Rivers should form the foundation of new relations. This will be encouraged by the soonest possible signing of treaties on the subject of the border and cooperation."

The common road to Europe also provides the context for relations with Poland's southern neighbors. "Instead of harmful rivalry, I intend to propose to the Czechs, Slovaks, and Hungarians a policy of cooperation in a common aim toward European integration."

Walesa looks to the east with hopes that the democratic changes initiated by Gorbachev will triumph. He wants the development of comprehensive and friendly relations. In view of the fact that the USSR has rejected Poland's postulate that the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact be declared null and void and that it be considered never to have been valid in the first place, one may expect Walesa to represent this postulate. During his memorable meeting with the Soviet ambassador, Walesa presented Poland's expectations and objectives: the withdrawal of Soviet forces in Poland; a review of our membership in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA; and Polish support for other peoples with similar objectives, especially the

Lithuanians, Byelorussians, and Ukrainians. The building of new mutual relations should establish genuine confidence, which will permit Poles access to national monuments situated in former Polish eastern territory.

As a Nobel Peace Prize winner, Walesa declared solidarity with nations that are suppressed by dictatorships, and indicated the need to cooperate with Third World countries. He said: "We feel a part of international society, most of which consists of developing countries today."

Speaking about the Middle East, Walesa said that Poland should be guided by the UN stance vis-a-vis the conflicts that are shaking this region and which constitute a threat to peace elsewhere.

In view of the U.S. victory in the "cold war" and the United States new role in the world, it is no wonder that Walesa concentrated on Polish-U.S. relations.

Western Europe and the whole world owe peace and secure development since World War II largely to the U.S. presence in Europe and the maintenance of political, economic, and military ties with the United States. Close political, military, and economic ties between the Western European countries and the United States, supplemented by economic help from the United States, have permitted not only a reconstruction of the war-ravaged European economy, but also the creation of a system of world security that has guaranteed world peace for half a century, despite serious threats from the aggressive totalitarian system that was simultaneously functioning in Europe. This also made it easier for us to overthrow communism in Poland. The U.S. presence in Europe is still a major factor that has a positive bearing on the processes of political and economic change.

"We are not only interested in maintaining contacts and cooperation between Poland and the United States at the same level as before, but we also believe this cooperation should be revitalized," said Walesa.

Walesa's activity so far guarantees that his declarations on foreign and domestic policy will be implemented in accordance with Solidarity's methods and experience so far, in accordance with the Solidarity ethos.

Walesa Has 'Five Candidates' for Prime Minister

PM2410120590 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE SONDAG in Danish 21 Oct 90 (MAGASIN section) p 8

[Interview with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by Michael Kuttner in Gdansk; date not given: "Walesa: I Am Right"; first paragraph is BERLINGSKE TIDENDE SONDAG introduction]

[Text] Gdansk—Lech Walesa feels betrayed by his former brothers in arms, it emerges from an exclusive interview with BERLINGSKE TIDENDE SONDAG in Gdansk. These include in particular Tadeusz Mazowiecki—Walesa's rival in the presidential election—Bronislaw Geremek, Zbigniew Bujak, and Adam Michnik.

[Walesa] They have achieved their positions riding on our backs, as it were. The striking shipyard workers in Gdansk did not want them at all in the beginning. They did not trust the intellectuals from Warsaw. But I called them experts, and they have had that label ever since.... When these experts were released from internment (under martial law) they used to come to Gdansk to ask what steps they should take. Some people have also clearly forgotten who it was who proposed Tadeusz Mazowiecki for the post of prime minister. Well, those are the rules of the game in a democracy.

[Kuttner] Who will become head of government if you are elected president?

[Walesa] I have five candidates. Every single one is remaining in readiness to occupy the post depending on what situation arises (after the election).

[Kuttner] You have said that as president you would rule to a large extent with the aid of decrees. Is this particularly democratic?

[Walesa] I have not defined who will exercise that right. Perhaps it will be the Presidium of the Sejm. Perhaps a parliamentary committee. It does not have to be the president.... Decrees are necessary, but they must not be allowed to destroy the parliamentary system.

[Kuttner] You have declared that you are right about everything. Do you really mean that?

[Walesa] I am right, if I succeed in persuading my partners.... I would do it all over again, even if I had to start from the beginning—every step. This includes the strike, the roundtable talks, the prime minister. At the time my decisions were correct, even though it does not necessarily look that way today.

Walesa's Campaign Manager on 'Price of Democracy'

PM2510085990 Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 12 Oct 90 pp 1-2

[Interview with Jacek Merkel, "Lech Walesa's chief election campaign manager," by GLOS WYBRZEZA correspondent Jacek Lindner on 11 October; place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A few days ago Jacek Merkel was made chief manager of Lech Walesa's team of election campaign organizers. It was the first appointment of this kind in a presidential campaign in Poland's history. Since that moment he has been one of the busiest people in the entire country. Yesterday he and his colleagues spent long hours working on the details of Walesa's election program.

[Lindner] Why were you—out of all possible candidates—chosen to be head of Walesa's election organizers' team?

[Merkel] This question should be put to the presidential candidate, not to me.

[Lindner] What are your duties in this position?

[Merkel] Many social groups, organizations, and parties have declared their support for Lech Walesa. Together they represent a mixture of very unpredictable and autonomous positions and attitudes. The brief of Walesa's election staff, which I head, is to coordinate their actions and operations. We are also collecting supporters' signatures. It will be our brief to nominate our candidate for the presidency; we also control the financial side of the operation. In addition, we will coordinate his radio and television appearances. Finally, we choose the venues of Lech Walesa's meetings and take care of a number of related operations.

[Lindner] What are the principal elements in Lech Walesa's election program?

[Merkel] His election program is taking shape as we proceed. Lech Walesa wants his program to be a living structure, emerging directly from his meetings with the electorate, among other things. The officer responsible for that part of our operations is Jerzy Milewski.

[Lindner] A heated debate is under way now on whether the president should be weak or strong. Which type of president do you favor?

[Merkel] You must distinguish between two different things: constitutional powers, and the personality and character attributes of the presidential incumbent. For example, American presidents have vast constitutional powers, but not all of them have proved capable of taking advantage of them. On the other hand, British prime ministers are by no means invested with extensive powers, but we all know what some of them have achieved.

Our problem also stems from the fact that we are now standing on the threshold of democracy, and this entails the need to make certain choices. Society is at present experiencing a certain degree of stress. We hear people voicing their objections: "How are we expected to choose between two patriots?" Well, yes, we are expected to do precisely that. That is the price of democracy. It is true that democracy is no paradise, but no one yet has come up with anything better. This is why it is necessary to make such choices.

[Lindner] Is Walesa for or against a constitutional referendum that could be carried out in conjunction with the presidential election?

[Merkel] He is against it.

[Lindner] Although certain campaign leaflets distributed in the Gdansk ship repair yard support Lech Walesa's presidential candidacy, at the same time they virtually ooze anti-Semitic venom and the spirit of intolerance.

[Merkel] I saw the leaflets in question and I very much regret their appearance, but they are, unfortunately, a manifestation of the price of democracy. All societies develop a fringe zone inhabited by people who are devoid of common sense. So what are we supposed to do about them? Should we set up a new political police force, to gag and muzzle people again? We have had that before and we do not want to bring it back.

[Lindner] Have you come across any surprising elements in the presidential campaign to date?

[Merkel] There have been none so far.

[Lindner] Thank you for talking to us.

Army Activities Will Not Conflict With Elections

AU2410143990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20-21 Oct 90 p 2

["Z.L."-signed report: "No Army Activities Anticipated"]

[Text] On presidential election day, there will be no military maneuvers, no training exercises, and no troop movements. Reservists will not be called up for training during this period. No call-up papers will suddenly arrive for those people who are to form part of the local or other election commission. The infamous closed electoral regions within military bases are now a thing of the past.

According to the presidential election law, no campaigning, no electoral rallies, and no meetings with candidates or their representatives will be permitted on Ministry of National Defense bases. Election posters, leaflets, or other forms of election campaigning will not be permitted on military bases.

As an organization, the Army is apolitical, and it will not seek to restrain the personal right of the serviceman or the officer to his political convictions, nor will it restrict his freedom to make a political choice, stressed Colonel Michal Izdebski, Ministry of National Defense representative for liaison with the State Electoral Commission.

Men serving their national service are free to register on the electoral list of the electoral district in which their military base lies. Career soldiers have exactly the same rights as ordinary civilians, namely, they can cast their vote in the district where they are registered as being permanently stationed.

Defense Ministry instructions now prohibit the practice of distorting electoral turnout by, for example, ordering servicemen to vote at a particular polling station, or for a particular candidate, and they now prohibit the keeping of numbers of those who voted, assures Colonel Izdebski. Commanders of military units and their officers will spare no efforts to give servicemen full information on their constitutional rights, as well as organizing certain services within each base so that all those who choose to do so can vote for the presidential candidate of their own choice.

Timetables of training exercises and other maneuvers will be altered so as not to clash with the election calendar. Even the 160-strong Polish military contingent in Syria has not been forgotten. These soldiers will be able to vote in the Polish Embassy there.

On the personal level, it is impossible to say who the soldier-citizen will vote for. Servicemen preferences will probably reflect the voting pattern and the turnout of the general public. It is interesting to note that no presidential candidate has yet bothered to invite the military to any of their pre-election meetings. They might stand to gain quite a lot by doing this. After all the electorate in uniform is approximately 300,000 strong.

Solidarity Founder Views Political Scene

PM2410103590 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 28 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Bogdan Borusewicz, chairman of Solidarity Gdansk Regional Board and joint founder of Gdansk Free Trade Unions, by GAZETA KRAKOWSKA correspondent Jerzy Sadecki; place and date not given]

[Text] [Sadecki] What has happened in Poland in the past few months?

[Borusewicz] There have been a number of distinct rearrangements of forces in the new ruler's camp.

[Sadecki] Are we talking about rearrangements rather than splits?

[Borusewicz] The process of differentiation is still in its initial stage. The new groups have not taken on a definite form yet.

[Sadecki] Do you believe that this development should have taken place?

[Borusewicz] I believe that the division within the core of our camp is premature. It came too early. The economy has not become any more stable during the past six months, and already we have complete political chaos.

[Sadecki] Are we facing the danger of an explosion of public dissatisfaction?

[Borusewicz] We are facing a large number of economic problems and we should concentrate on these. I believe that privatization cannot be achieved without negative social repercussions. But I do not expect an actual explosion of public dissatisfaction—at least not one caused by privatization.

[Sadecki] What changes do you expect to take place?

[Borusewicz] Though I am an advocate of rapid political changes, I believe that they should be introduced with enough caution to exclude the possibility of their constituting a threat to the economy. This is because the economy is a system in which there are many more unknown factors than in politics. We must be extremely careful here. The introduction of a market economy system in the agricultural sector should serve as a good lesson to us all.

[Sadecki] What political changes would you advocate?

[Borusewicz] They should aim at an elimination of all vestiges of the old system and involve changes in personal appointments. This is because the public demands to see these changes. I am not in favor of the general direction of the changes currently under way, especially as regards the tendency to introduce centralized control. In this way we waste the opportunity to involve wider reaches of the population in the transformations we are attempting to carry out. There is a tendency to leave most decisions to be handled centrally by the relevant authorities. I find this disquieting. Plese note the large number of conflicts with the regional administration, which represents an extension of the state authorities. At this level self-government structures should be given the widest possible decisionmaking and executive powers.

[Sadecki] How can we combat the apathy which is afflicting the population?

[Borusewicz] Well, it is not something we can get rid of by passing it on to the next person.... I think that citizens should be given more powers, precisely through decentralization. We should provide scope for people who want to be active.

[Sadecki] Do people want to be active?

[Borusewicz] Of course. Otherwise we would not have established local self-government structures at all. There are people there who genuinely want to do things. However, we should now think of ideas which will inspire these people.

[Sadecki] What kind of ideas?

[Borusewicz] I do not know—perhaps the privatization will catch people's imagination; perhaps they will be galvanized into action if they are given more independence.... We must search for ideas. Back in 1980 the vision of free trade unions was such an idea.

[Sadecki] Some people claim that Poles will be galvanized into action only by political transformations, such as the election and appointment of a new president.

[Borusewicz] Such transformations could have been effective if they had been carried out at the beginning of the year. Now it is not so certain, though I still see certain untapped potential there. It is still possible to make people see the justification for the great difficulties caused by the economic changes. On the other hand, the lack of further political changes is making people lose their faith in what is going on and causing local conflicts to flare up—including even conflicts based on personal animosities.

[Sadecki] How do you assess the 12 months of the Mazowiecki government?

[Borusewicz] The present government has operated in extremely difficult circumstances and achieved a lot, but not enough for me to be pleased with its achievement. First of all, it failed to alter its tactics to match the changing external situation. Policies which were appropriate for the last year, for last November and December, are not too well suited to the realities of the present day. Nevertheless the government is still grimly determined to hang on to its initial course of action.

[Sadecki] You stand , as it were, to the side of all the recent divisions within Solidarity. Do you believe that both Solidarity-based groups, the Center Alliance and the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD], are capable of forming strong political parties in the political market?

[Borusewicz] The elections will show whether they are. I believe that they do not command any automatic support. Unless they secure a significant backing from Solidarity, their chances are not at all good.

[Sadecki] Is this why Walesa relies primarily on his trade union?

[Borusewicz] Yes. People do not want premature splits and divisions; they do not know what they are about.... I do know the reasons for the divisions, but I am not quite certain about the specific differences between the Center Alliance and ROAD concerning their political or economic programs.

[Sadecki] The differences have more to do with identification with certain public figures.

[Borusewicz] Of course, but this is not enough. I believe that in this situation Solidarity's position will decide the matter.

[Sadecki] But the union is so weak at the moment!

[Borusewicz] Is that what you think? Well, then, can you show me an institution that is stronger than Solidarity?

[Sadecki] Indeed....

[Borusewicz] After all, all chances of implementing all the Polish transformations depend on Solidarity. The USSR's tragedy is precisely that it lacks an element comparable to Poland's Solidarity. In addition, we can always appeal to the church.

[Sadecki] It seems to me that Solidarity has been losing its identity in workplaces.

[Borusewicz] I see evidence to the contrary: It has been finding its identity! The conflict with the government is a way of establishing its identity. Solidarity's identity is now clearer and better defined than it was toward the end of last year. At that time we used to say that we had a Solidarity government, but in reality the government was only associated with Solidarity.

[Sadecki] Is this not a paradox: People are seeking unity within Solidarity, but the union's chairman himself encouraged the urge to create divisions.

[Borusewicz] I do not agree with this thesis. Walesa's actions are in reaction to the new configuration of forces in which communists have no place any more. His actions are the result rather than the cause of the differences.

[Sadecki] But did he have to do it in such a drastic manner?

[Borusewicz] I do not know what you mean....

[Sadecki] Did he have to use such unparliamentary language; indeed, did he have to speak in such insulting terms of people who are close to him and who have done a lot for him?

[Borusewicz] He has always used such language. Only.... it was not noticed before.

[Sadecki] Could it be that his words were meant for different addressees then?

[Borusewicz] It could. In 1981 I found myself in sharp conflict with Lech and his group. At that time no one—apart from myself and my friends—objected to his manner of speaking.

Press Commission Presents Final Recommendations

AU2410145390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20-21 Oct 90 p 1

[Tomasz Rogulski report: "RSW Break up: Some To Be Sold and Some To Be Transferred to Cooperatives"]

[Text] The Worker's Publishing Cooperative [RSW] Liquidation Commission has finished its work on the break up of the RSW publishing concern and will present its conclusions to the Council of Ministers shortly.

According to the provisions of the law on the liquidation of various RSW components, the statute allows only three alternatives. These are; a transfer of a given title to a workers' cooperative; sale by auction; or transfer to the state. The final decisions will be made by the Council of Ministers.

Of the 179 press titles subject to liquidation, the commission proposes that:

—Workers' cooperatives get 71 publications. These include: KURIER PODLASKI (Bialystok voivodship); SLOWO LUDU (Kielce); ZYCIE LITERACKIE (Krakow); DZIENNIK LUBELSKI (Lublin); GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA (Olsztyn); TRYBUNA

OPOLSKA (Opole); GAZETA POMORSKA (Bydgoszcz); GLOS SZCZECINSKI, KURIER SZCZECINSKI, and MORZE I ZIEMIA (Szczecin); EXPRESS POZNANSKI and GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI (Poznan); GAZETA ROBOTNICZA, SLOWO POLSKIE, and WIECZOR WROCLAWIA (Wroclaw); BAJTEK, FANTASTYKA, FILIPINKA, FORUM, KOBIETA I ZYCIE, LITERATURA, MAGAZYN MUZYCZNY, PAN, PANSTWO I PRAWO, POLITYKA, PRZEGLAD SPORTOWY, PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY, ROZRYWKA, SPORTOWIEC, SZPILKI, SWIAT MLODYCH, SWIAT MODY, SKLADANKA, TOP, URODA, WIEDZA I ZYCIE, and VETO (Warsaw).

—One hundred titles should be sold. These include: GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA (Bialystok); DZIENNIK BALTYCKI, GLOS WYBRZEZA, and WIECZOR WYBRZEZA (Gdansk); ECHO DNIA (Kielce); DZIENNIK POLSKI, ECHO KRAKOWA, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA, and PRZEKROJ (Krakow); KURIER LUBELSKI (Lublin); DZIENNIK LODZKI, EXPRESS ILUSTROWANY, GLOS PORANNY, and KARUZELA (Lodz); DZIENNIK POJEZIERZA (Olsztyn); DZIENNIK WIECZORNY (Bydgoszcz); NOWINY (Rzeszow); TAK I NIE and WIECZOR (Katowice); GAZETA POZNANSKA (Poznan); TRYBUNA WALBRZYSKA (Walbrzych), GAZETA LUBUSKA (Zielona Gora); and CHLOPSKA DROGA, EXPRESS WIECZORNY, FILATELISTYKA, GROMADA-ROLNIK POLSKI, ITD, KOMPUTER, LEKKOATLETYKA, MORZE, MOTOR, NA PRZELAJ, NOWA WIES, PERSPEKTYWY, PILKA NOZNA, POEZJA, PRAWO I ZYCIE, PROBLEMY, PRZYJACIOLKA, SZTANDAR MLODYCH, THE WARSAW VOICE, TRYBUNA, WALKA MLODYCH, WIADOMOSCI SPORTOWE, ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, and ZYCIE WARSZAWY (Warsaw).

—The state treasury take overs eight titles. These include: LITERATURA NA SWIECIE, and five other publications that will form the Upper Silesian Press Center, namely: DZIENNIK ZACHODNI, ECHO, NOWINY GLIWICKIE, NOWINY RYBNICKIE, and PANORAMA.

Commentary Accuses Mazowiecki of Manipulation

AU2210194790 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 18 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Robert Walenciak commentary: "How and Why We Were 'Sold'—The Background to the Betrayal"]

[Text] The appointment of Krzysztof Krol as new the editor in chief of SZTANDAR MLODYCH is reminiscent of an unpardonable no-holds-barred political battle, rather than a rational decision. Experienced journalists from SZTANDAR MLODYCH are more direct: The same thing happened 18 December 1981, when the Communists dismissed our editors and appointed their own people. Nothing has changed and in fact things are worse.

Rumors, circulating in Warsaw for some time now, have been saying that an agreement has been concluded between the Mazowiecki camp and the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN].

According to rumors—it is hard to believe that Drygalski [chairman of government commission charged with press affairs] has concocted this all by himself—Mazowiecki has entered into agreement with Moczulski. Mazowiecki gave Moczulski (for free!) a newspaper that has a circulation in excess of 400,000 (Sunday edition); the KPN, in turn, has agreed to support Mazowiecki's candidacy in the second round of the upcoming presidential elections. Such an agreement is a splendid move for both sides, if we consider the following factors.

The KPN's true political standing became fully apparent during the last local council elections as the party failed to obtain even 10 percent of the vote. This showed what Poles really think of Mr. Moczulski and his followers. The KPN's intellectual void was exposed in the now infamous television program: "Shadow Cabinet." Krzysztof Krol, son-in-law of Leszek Moczulski (KPN is a family-run firm), confessed that Moczulski had done absolutely nothing to raise the party's image in the eyes of the public.

Looking clinically at our political scene, one need not be a prophet to see that the KPN will not get a meaningful portion of the vote in the next parliamentary elections. Most likely, it will fall far short of the required five-percent barrier. This will spell the political death of the KPN and its leaders.

That is why the gift made by Drygalski's liquidation commission is almost like manna from heaven for the family-team of Moczulski and Krol; politically and financially, it is the KPN's sole chance of survival. SZTANDAR MLODYCH is a profitable newspaper and—nobody can deny it—an influential one. The paper is to be the vehicle that will pull the KPN through the lean years, until better times. In the meantime, however, it can be used as a medium to attract new KPN members. What are the reasons behind the current ruling team's decision; a team that is in control of the wealth of this nation?

The presidential elections are almost upon us and the battle for every vote promises to be fierce. Mazowiecki's supporters all agree that the eventual winner will not be elected by an overwhelming majority. Given such circumstances every vote counts, and this is what is being said in the prime minister's camp. Handing over SZTANDAR MLODYCH to the KPN is thus seen as a shrewd move against Lech Walesa. The Mazowiecki team's strategy is crystal: Moczulski, using SZTANDAR MLODYCH, will deprive Lech Walesa of some votes—both politicians have styled themselves in the image of Marshal Pilsudski, and voters who sympathize with the

Pilsudski tradition appear to be equally split between them. Later, by transferring the KPN vote to the prime minister in the second round, Moczulski may tip the balance in favor of the prime minister and away from the "Solidarity" chairman.

Rather a neat political equation. The only regret is that the ruling team, going into these elections under the banner of law, order, and stability, has chosen to trample on SZTANDAR MLODYCH.

P.S. Last-minute information: Reliable sources inform us of a new element in the Mazowiecki-Moczulski agreement, namely, that Moczulski has been promised the Ministry of National Defense if the prime minister wins the presidential elections.

'Controversy' Rages Over Oil Terminal Project

AU2410132990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Economy and Law supplement) in Polish 18 Oct p 1

[Danuta Walewska report: "The Dispute Over SAMBAR: Controversy Over the Port"]

[Text] The subject was one that aroused a lot controversy during the meeting of the Sejm Foreign Economic Relations Commission. That came as no surprise, because what was under discussion was fuel-related investment in the Northern Port.

No one intended to call into question the need for such investment. According to a cost estimate submitted by Jan Barcewicz, a director at the Maritime Trade Port, a minimum of 460 billion zlotys would be required for plans on a modest scale. The complete investment project would require 600 billion zlotys.

Where would the funds come from? Are we in a position to come up with them ourselves in light of our financial situation? The plan envisages investment from the Plock Refinery, 40 percent; the Gdansk refinery, 18 percent; the Import-Export Center for Chemicals and Chemical Equipment and the Petroleum Industry Center, five percent each; the Maritime Trade Port, 12 percent; and the state budget, 20 percent. The investment project is necessary, because it will shortly be the main way in which we will import most of the crude oil that we need. We cannot allow ourselves to continue to be completely dependent on the Soviet market along with its problems and possibilities for extracting crude oil. The port is also of enormous importance for our economic development strategy and it is, therefore, important that deputies should have no misgivings about the investment being as "national" as possible.

So, there was a lot of controversy about the involvement of the Polnippon company, which has provided advisory services to SAMBAR, a foreign trade enterprise with Saudi-Nigerian-British capital participation. The enterprise has signed a letter of intent and plans to lease a 500 hectare site on which it will build, among other things, oil reservoirs. Although they had not objections to the project as such, some deputies objected to the involvement of former Deputy Prime Minister Ireneusz Sekula and former Industry Minister Mieczyslaw Wilczek, who head Polnippon, in bringing SAMBAR to Poland.

In an extremely emotional speech, Gdansk Deputy Czeslaw Nowak said that the Northern Port Employee Council was firmly opposed to the project, because SAMBAR was not the Saudis or Nigerians, but Ireneusz Sekula and Mieczyslaw Wilczek. Elaborating on the statement, Deputy Krakowski, who is also from Gdansk, stressed that it was not important whether the investment project was good or bad, but what mattered most of all was that it was unacceptable for political reasons. He compared being dependent on Polnippon, to Poland's many years of dependence on the Soviet Union for deliveries of crude oil.

Ireneusz Sekula, who was present at the meeting, said that as soon as the economy starts to move out of the recession, we will need a minimum of 25 million tonnes of crude oil, most of which will have to be processed in Gdansk and in Plock. This is another reason why the investment project has to be completed as quickly as possible. The full cost will amount to between $3 billion and $4 billion, which the Polish economy will not be in a position to earn in the immediate future. He said that SAMBAR was prepared to risk that level of investment and it has also been assured of sufficient supplies of fuel to ensure that the facilities be continually employed once they are built. Polnippon has only found people willing to invest in the project. He added that they had not made a single zloty out of it.

The deputies who cast doubt on the veracity of Ireneusz Sekula's statement and saw the former deputy prime minister and former minister in the guise of Arab shaykhs were given an additional explanation by Foreign Investment Agency President Zbigniew Piotrowski: "There is no evidence to support suggestions that Polnippon has exceeded its powers. The company provides consultancy and advisory services. I would have intervened if something else had occurred."

What will be built at the Northern Port and when and how is of exceptional importance for our economy. Director Barcewicz provided each member of the commission with a draft of the Polish investment project. A SAMBAR delegation will visit Gdansk on Thursday. Decisions will no doubt be made shortly.

Skubiszewski Discusses Polish-German Relations

AU2410142690 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20-21 Oct 90 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Katarzyna Kolodziejczyk; place and date not given: "Poland-Germany: Visas and Treaties"]

[Text] [Kolodziejczyk] Mr. Minister, the last few days have seen the appearance of new elements in Polish-German relations. Along with signals that are to be welcomed, namely, on visas, there have been signals from Paris, which have produced mixed reactions. I am thinking of the interview Chancellor Kohl gave to French television during his recent visit in France. I would like to ask you to explain these signals to the readers of RZECZPOSPOLITA.

[Skubiszewski] As regards visas, according to the information we have, I can confirm that they will be abolished as of 1 January 1991 for Polish-German tourist traffic. We still need to hold detailed discussions on this issue. I consider the German move as very important and significant for our mutual relations. I acted vigorously on the visa issue during my stay in New York, where I had the opportunity to discuss the matter with several foreign affairs ministers.

I said that we understood fully the difficulties and barriers, especially in the case of Austria, which imposed visas for domestic policy motives, namely, a substantial number of people travelled to Austria to trade and work illegally. At the same time, I pointed out that there are countries in Eastern and Central Europe whose citizens can or soon will be able to travel to Western European countries without visas. Polish public opinion saw this as discriminatory behavior. This reproach provoked rather embarrassed reactions. My interlocutors stated that they wanted to avoid giving such an impression and agreed that something had to be done. They also added that they expected to see us take certain measures to ensure that once borders had been opened to visa-free movement of persons, tens of thousands of Poles would not remain abroad as illegal immigrants. I confess that this was not the first time I had heard these contentions, namely, the representatives of various countries stating that Poland is a country of emigration.

Countering this argument, I stated that if a person wanted to leave Poland to illegally work abroad or stay for longer than his visa allowed, then the requirement or non requirement for visas would have no bearing on that decision. Such a person will try to obtain a visa by any means.

[Kolodziejczyk] What steps did you take in relation to German visas?

[Skubiszewski] I decided to take a step that was highly criticized in Poland, namely, to allow the citizens of the former GDR to come to Poland without visas. I was accused of artificially maintaining the division of Germany and that I was dividing Germans into two categories. Both arguments missed the point. The decision I made after consultations with Prime Minister Mazowiecki was received favorably in Bonn. It also put the Germans in a new situation. At the same time, I put forward concrete suggestions on local cross-border traffic. There has been no reply from Bonn on this issue, because the federal government has had to consult with the Laender.

This week we received good news from Bonn and I have already mentioned this at the start of this interview. The good news does not just concern local cross-border traffic. Quite understandably, the Germans must discuss this with at least some EC countries, because of the EC agreements on the free movement of people. Nevertheless, I remain optimistic on this matter.

[Kolodziejczyk] In his interview, Helmut Kohl has accused the Polish side of doing little to bring about the signing of an agreement with the FRG. He also stated that the signing of such an agreement might be postponed until April of next year. Apart from these matters, the Poles are talking of treaties while Kohl seems to be talking of an agreement. What are your comments?

[Skubiszewski] I would say the following. Poland originated the idea of a treaty with a reunited Germany. At the end of April last year, a long time ago now, we forwarded copies of a draft treaty to both German states (the GDR was still in existence) and this draft, I stress, was not only on the border question. Its title was: "On the principles of mutual relations." The clauses on borders were at the beginning of the document, but we went much further. The draft also contained clauses which talked about future relations, namely, with a reunited Germany. We held three rounds of talks, but because of German insistence the talks centered solely on the border issue. The talks were never completed and this was also done on account of German wishes. Later, we welcomed the Bundestag resolution which was very favorable to us (June 1990), and the resolution of the former GDR's Peoples' Chamber. The Paris "two-plus-four" meeting was approaching (July 1990), and Poland was invited to participate. Various participants at that meeting suggested that it would be better if we limited ourselves to the issue of borders, leaving other matters to a separate treaty, because bilateral matters were outside the scope of the conference. I agreed to do this and this was clear from my subsequent speech. Shortly after the conference, we sent a new draft to the Germans. This draft was specifically on the border issue.

[Kolodziejczyk] What is the final result of the talks and the current state of our relations?

[Skubiszewski] I repeat, Poland took the initiative and submitted two draft proposals. There was also the meeting between Mazowiecki and Kohl in Budapest at which there was also talk of a broader treaty. I would like to add that up till now we have not received a single draft from the Germans. I hope that we shall receive one soon. We would like to know the German position. It may be that they will choose to present their own draft or we shall amend our own. The border treaty poses no difficulties. We can agree the precise wording in a matter of days and proceed to the signing thereafter. Matters have already been agreed a long time ago through our statement of position, the Bundestag resolution, the "two-plus-four" meeting, and the Moscow treaty of 12 September.

In this last treaty the German Government undertakes that the border treaty will be signed, and I quote: "As soon as practicable following reunification and the recovery of sovereignty by Germany." I consider the border treaty as a foregone conclusion and admit that I am baffled why there should be any delay.

[Kolodziejczyk] One hears rumors that the Germans might make the border treaty dependent on the inclusion of postulates raised by the German minority in Poland. Polish public opinion fears that talks on the minority issue might complicate our relationship with the Germans.

[Skubiszewski] As regards the first point, I wish to say that the matter is a internal one, namely, the German Government can chose to consult and deliberate with anyone it feels it needs to. Poland is not interested in this issue. Poland will only talk to the representatives of the German Government.

On the second point, I wish to say that the question of the German minority in Poland was agreed in the declaration dated 14 November 1989 and signed by Chancellor Kohl and Prime Minister Mazowiecki. On this issue, there are certain rules which are already in force and I do not see any reason why minority matters should stand in the way of our border treaty.

[Kolodziejczyk] Mr. Minister, would you be inclined to agree if the Germans suggested that we should treat different Polish citizens in a different way, for example, treat Polish citizens of German descent in a different way than ethnic Poles. Would you also agree with the opinion that every additional regulation that we make in relation to the German minority in Poland, could make it more difficult for us to become members of the Council of Europe?

[Skubiszewski] We shall draw no differences in the way Polish citizens of German descent or ethnic Poles are treated. The rules on crossing the border are the same for all. We intend to make no differences, give no privileges, or apply any discriminations.

However, as regards regulations on the position of this minority in Poland, or the Ukrainian, or Belorussian, or any other minority, we shall be guided by European standards. These are well known and are reflected in the joint declaration made by Mazowiecki and Kohl.

[Kolodziejczyk] What about the second treaty with Germany?

[Skubiszewski] The wider treaty on good-neighborly relations and cooperation still needs detailed negotiation. Here again we seized the initiative and proposed that immediately after 3 October—reunification of Germany—talks should begin. Our initiative was favorably received and the first round of talks will begin at the end of this month. I think that a treaty could be ready before the end of November. In a nutshell, I see the timetable somewhat differently than Chancellor Kohl does. I see it as a much shorter timescale than would appear from his comments made on French television.

[Kolodziejczyk] Mr. Minister, on 18 October, trilateral talks were held in Warsaw between the deputy foreign ministers of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Are you pleased with their outcome?

[Skubiszewski] The talks took place because of Polish initiative. I am a committed supporter of cooperation between our three countries. I think that the time gap after the Bratislava meeting was too long and in practical terms nothing was done.

We are still waiting for the Bratislava declaration. I received a draft which was drafted by a Sejm group and I thought it was well drafted. Then there followed debates on the draft in Prague and Budapest, but nothing happened. I am happy that we have the recent talks behind us.

We have made some progress in the long-awaited declaration and I hope that the declaration will soon be ready. The parties have decided to set up a special commission which is to elaborate the principles of mutual cooperation and further joint steps to secure the greatest efficiency. But we must remember that we are dealing with three separate countries that have their own specific and separate interests. I can say, however, that as regards the declaration, Poland has been the driving force behind it.

Some sections of the press have published accounts of the meeting that are too pessimistic and somewhat inaccurate. We must bear in mind that politics and especially foreign affairs require time and very often important matters take a long time to mature.

Jaruzelski Greets Atlantic Assembly Delegation

LD2410154290 Warsaw PAP in English 1337 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 24—Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski received today a delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly with its head Patrick Duffy and General Secretary Peter Corterier.

The talk in the Belvedere Palace focused on security and stabilization in Europe. The visitors presented the future role of the North Atlantic Treaty and wanted to know how Poland assesses the process of transformations in Central and Eastern Europe.

The president emphasized Poland's interest in seeking an all-Europe security system.

Poland 'Declares its Readiness' To Work With IAEA

LD2410132790 Warsaw PAP in English 1102 GMT 24 Oct 90

[By PAP correspondent Adolf Reut]

[Text] New York, Oct. 24—"Poland approves the conclusions contained in an annual report of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA], appreciates the agency's activity and declares its readiness to take part in its work," Poland's representative at the UN Stanislaw Pawlak said while addressing a debate on the report held by the UN General Assembly on Tuesday.

But he added that Poland could rebuild its confidence in possibilities offered by nuclear power engineering only when the equipment was properly tested by Western highest-quality technologies.

Prime Minister Continues Western European Tour

Meets NATO's Woerner, France's Mitterrand

AU2410200690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1740 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/10/1990—Tuesday was the third day of Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman's official visit to Luxembourg, Belgium and France on the Brussels-Paris route.

In the morning the Romanian premier granted interviews to the Belgian National Radio and Television stations, then he held separate talks with the president of the Senate, Frank Swaelen, with Mrs. Anne Marie Lizin, secretary of state and member of the government, as well as with the president of the Chamber of Representatives, Charles F. Nothomb.

An important moment in the Romanian premier's activity was his interview with Mr. Manfred Woerner, NATO secretary-general, at that organisation's headquarters in Brussels. The meeting which was unconceivable not long ago aroused special interest both in the political circles and in the press. In the new spirit of confidence instaurating in Europe, of democratizing international relations, opinions were exchanged regarding the course of the political-military situation on the continent and all over the world, in the broader context of setting up the security structures on the continent.

In the afternoon the Romanian prime minister together with the governmental delegation accompanying him arrived in Paris.

Soon after his arrival Premier Petre Roman was received at the Elysee Palace by France's President Francois Mitterrand.

At the end of the interview the prime minister announced that President Mitterrand intended to pay a visit to Romania at the beginning of next year. Mr. Roman informed that debates were made on Romania's situation, European construction as well as on the Romanian-French relations considered as being under best auspices.

Referring to the accord of commercial and economic cooperation signed with the EEC in Luxembourg on Monday, Mr. Petre Roman showed he hoped Romania would obtain firstly a support in the field of "training cadres and financial and trade administrators," as well as in agriculture and tourism. Premier Petre Roman appreciated that the accord opened new prospects for the Romanian exports to the EEC countries, emphasising that "it is necessary for Romania to start its own economy." He also appreciated that that start could be made only through economic liberalization.

Meets Lalumiere, Ends French Visit

AU2410200990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1840 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/10/1990—On his last day in France, Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman held talks in Strasbourg with Mrs. Katherine Lalumiere, secretary-general of the Council of Europe, with other political personalities. The talks were devoted to the relations between Romania and the Council of Europe in the perspective of our country's adhesion to that organisation.

Opinions were exchanged regarding the democratization process and the instauration of the state of law in Romania, the priority domains of cooperation between Romania and the Council of Europe.

The Romanian premier left for the homeland at 19.00 hours.

Iliescu Sends Message to UN's Perez de Cuellar

AU2410195590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1734 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/10/90—The structural changes taking place in the world, the cessation of the cold war and of the East-West confrontation have started the process of taking the organization back to its initial goals and principles justifying the hope that the United Nations will prove its efficiency, reads the message addressed by President Ion Iliescu on the United Nations Day to the secretary-general of the organization.

The action of the Security Council in connection with the developments in the Gulf attests that the relations among states, freed from confrontations and rivalries, can be conceived in the spirit of human solidarity and morality of international relations, set on the recognition and observance of the international law principles.

In the deepest meaning of this solidarity, man with his rights and needs must be the first and ultimate goal of the governments' policy.

Engaged in an irreversible process of building a democratic, pluralist society in a state of law grounded on full observance of human rights and liberties, Romania returns to the traditional humanistic values of its own people. It is open to all the states of the world, respects them and wants to be respected, believes in the supremacy of law and its institutions, wishes to contribute alongside the other nations to maintaining peace and stability in the world, to solving the major problems confronting mankind at present.

Iliescu Receives Council of Europe Delegation

AU2410202790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1954 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/10/1990—Wednesday, President Ion Iliescu received the delegation of constitutional law experts of the Council of Europe, led by Mr. Erik Harremoes, director for legal affairs of that body.

The interview was attended by Alexandru Barladeanu, president of the Senate, Dan Martian, speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, Antonie Iorgovan, senator, chairman of the Constitution Drafting Commission, Vasile Secares, minister, head of department at the presidency, presidential advisers.

The head of the delegation was appreciative of the progress of the drafting of Romania's Constitution pointing to the productive character of the dialogue and of the cooperation with the members of the constitutional commission. By inviting the group of experts Romania proved a clear opening, the resolve to promote democracy, and through the vast legislative programme it carries through, Parliament ensures the premises for the building of a state of law, for the guaranteeing of fundamental human rights and freedoms.

Mr. Ion Iliescu referred to the specific character of the revolutionary process in Romania, to the irreversibility of the present democratic changes which have as a defining element the drafting of Romania's new constitution by the Parliament elected on 20 May. Stress was laid on the open spirit, on the sincere wish to cooperate with all states, with those in the Council of Europe included, to promote the authentic values of democracy.

Power Grid Affected by Soviet Supply Disruptions

AU2410200290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1609 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/10/1990—Technical problems on Soviet territory along the 750 kw power mains since 22 October, which halted the electric power import from the USSR, have seriously affected Romania's energy distribution network, says a communique of the Electric Power Department.

Frequency drops below normal triggered the automated systems into operation, hence the automatic disconnection of some of the consumers.

To cover the shortage, steps are being taken to increase electric power production in some stations, to set into motion new power generators at Deva, Rovinari while negotiations are under way to import electricity from France and Germany. At the same time, certain consumers in the cement, metalworking, chemical and machine-building industries were urged to reduce consumption.

The Electric Power Department was notified by the Soviet counterpart that circuits would be restored by 23 October 21:00 hours.

Protest Held Against Separatist Trends in Moldavia

AU2410202690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1919 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/10/1990—On Wednesday a march of protest was arranged in Bucharest against the tendencies of disunion and separatism manifest in the Moldova SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] through the attempts to set up the so-called Gagauz and Dniester Republics.

The march attended by about 15,000 persons was organised by the Free Democratic Party, the National Christian Democratic Party and the Bucharest-Kishinev Cultural Association. They were joined by the Bucharest University Students' League.

The organisers of the march handed over a protest to the Soviet Union embassy which showed inter alia that the central authorities in Moscow tried to disunite coinhabiting nationalities to divide the territory of the Republic of Moldova.

The protest was taken by Mr. Fyodor Malishev, councillor, head of the consular department.

In a communique the leadership of the "Vatra Romaneasca" national union expresses its full solidarity for the keeping of the territorial integrity of the Moldova SSR.

In its turn the National Peasant Party supports the brothers in blood and sufferings on the other side of the Prut and makes an appeal to Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev to put an end to such illegal actions which lead to instability.

Increase Noted in Anti-Hungarian Incidents

AU2410090990 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 18 Oct 90 p 2

[MTI correspondent's report: "Serious Anti-Hungarian Atrocities in Romania"]

[Text] There has been an increase in anti-Hungarian acts in Maros County, more precisely in the Gorgeny Valley in Romania. The Regen district organization of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] issued a statement in which it drew the attention of the authorities to the serious situation and asked them to take a tough stand and halt any repetition of atrocities, as well as to do their utmost for peaceful coexistence.

The statement mentions the fact that unknown persons recently demolished the memorial commemorating the heroes of the 1848 revolution, a memorial which stood in the schoolyard in Gorgeny. According to nationalist circles, they demolished this memorial because it had a "provocative Hungarian slogan" written on it. In addition, they also damaged another Hungarian memorial and various tombs in the Hungarian cemetery. Unknown persons blocked the road between Uvegcsur and Casva with carts and checked the identity of people getting through; they mistreated those of Hungarian nationality. Unknown persons beat Janos Matisz and his family in Gorgenyszentimre because they were speaking Hungarian. Unknown persons recently damaged the car belonging to the Presbyterian priest of Gorgeny.

Hungarian Commerce Official on Trade Relations

AU2410112890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0948 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/10/1990—Laszlo Konya, adviser to Hungary's commercial representation in Romania told a press conference about the state of exchanges between Hungary and Romania.

Hungary, he said, exports to Romania numerically controlled and program controlled machine tools, drilling rigs for oil prospecting, floating cranes, light industry equipment (about 15-18 rubles annually), medical equipment, roller bearings, metering and control devices, blaugas blow-off valves and computer technology starting this year.

Hungary imports from Romania—the commercial adviser added—machine tools (about 3 million rubles annually), oil rigs and wood working equipment, tractors and agricultural tools, parts for hydraulic diesel engines, carriages and carriage spare parts, "Dacia" cars (Hungary imports the greatest number of "Dacia" cars), all types of ARO [expansion not given] cars, and it also tries to import Oltcit cars.

At the end of last year Hungary posted a 49.5 million ruble surplus. That's why, he said, we cannot force our export until it is balanced by import. The Hungarian Government made the decision to go on delivering medicines, powder milk and foodstuffs, irrespective of the evolution of the balance.

Referring to the way in which Hungary would like to make trade with Romania, Laszlo Konya said two distinct aspects should be considered. One is that there is a Hungarian surplus in the balance of payments, which must be settled. Another refers to setting trade on a single system of payments starting next year. Talks have begun, but divergent opinions have been voiced so far. Negotiations will continue in Bucharest or Budapest next week, concluded the commercial adviser of Hungary's commercial representation to Romania.

Senate Discusses Profit Tax Bill

AU2410202990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1924 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—On Wednesday [24 October] the Senate continued its plenum works after a one-hour session behind closed doors. The debates continued on technicalities, followed by the discussion of a new bill of the profit tax.

In order to stimulate the Romanian and foreign economic agents to invest in priority branches of the Romanian economy, the bill stipulates they will be tax-exempt for up to two years.

Likewise, to enable them to use part of the profit for further investments and to protect the environment, the economic agents' taxes will be cut down by 50 per cent also, in order to encourage the small enterprises and profit-making associations, they will pay a tax smaller than the present one.

Mr. K. Kiraly, vice-president of the Senate, who chaired the Wednesday proceedings, informed that the two chambers of the Parliament would meet on Thursday morning to jointly debate the prime minister's report.

Radical Democratic Party Communique on Goals

AU2210210990 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 9 Oct p 3

[Communique by Radical Democratic Party, signed by Radical Democratic Party President Costel Nicolae; place and date not given]

[Text] ROMPRES received from the Radical Democratic Party (RDP) [PRD] the following communique for publication:

The policy of the RDP wishes, primarily, to be the policy of those who are working in factories and in the fields, and the program for those who do not have—at least for the time being—the chance to show a private initiative in towns and villages. These people make up the great majority of the Romanians. We address those for whom the price of a newspaper is equal to the price of a loaf of bread and who cannot afford to give up bread, those who do not have a legal or humanitarian assistance, and we mainly address those who did not hurry to make several trips abroad to peddle and have not traveled abroad with their families for years. We mainly address those whose concern to have a secure job tomorrow is the only policy.

Contacts with other political parties are part of the new times. They are an elementary rule in the political dialogue, as long as the platforms of these groups have close ideas or similar goals. When there are so many acute problems in this country and so much suffering, to ignore these realities and to grossly defy the immediate and the future interests of the Romanian nation's holy Orthodox tradition is condemnable. It is more than commendable that two members of our party, through a strictly private initiative, got hold of the stamp of the RDP, contacted the Vienna branch of the Transnational Radical Party—whose representative in the European Parliament is no one other than Cicciolina and whose leader is a well-known neo-Nazi—and the Radical Transnational Party in Budapest, which is "concerned" about the fate of Romania and particularly of Transylvania.

Examining the behavior of the two people, the leadership of the RDP decided to expel Rindunel Carjan and George Istrate from the ranks of the party members.

On this occasion, we reaffirm that we have not and we will not make any demarches over the border to get assistance, hard currency, or other benefits from any individual or corporate body. We believe that a party is and can become viable in the domestic or foreign political life of our country only if it is supported by masses and it echoes the people's hopes that they, as citizens of this country, are and will be the only masters in theor home.

The communique is signed by the president of the Radical Democratic Party, Dr. Costel Nicolae.

FSN Vice President on Party's Current Position

AU2410112290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0948 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/10/1990—The National Salvation Front (NSF) [FSN] has also considered the possibility of a social collapse, hence the failure of the Front's policy, said Claudiu Iordache, NSF first vice president in a serialized interview with the "TINERETUL LIBER", but if the current government were forced out of the stage now, the result would be a very dangerous power vacuum since we cannot see any political party that can take our place. It's not because of ideological considerations but because of the real capacity for action in the present circumstances, Mr. Iordache said.... In sum, we do not cling to power; we are within this power to keep it in line with the destiny of our people.

The NSF has its own identity, Mr. Iordache also said. It does not have to seek its wavelength through alliances or mergers. It is a left-of-center party, a national center-left movement, not a haven for the nomenklatura, or a form of neocommunism. This autumn the NSF will break with everything that stands for the past, said its first vice president. A change of name is being considered. One variant is the social democratic union. Others are the National Centre-Left Movement or the Social Democratic Front, he added.

* Gradual Economic Reform Process Outlined

91BA0011A Bucharest AZI in Romanian 25, 26 Sep 90

[Interview with Minister Adrian Severin, by Stelian Motiu; place and date not given: "The Reform, Point by Point"]

[Text] **[25 Sep pp 1, 3] Our interlocutor is Mr. Adrian Severin, minister, assistant to the prime minister in charge of reform and relations with Parliament.**

The thing most widely known about Adrian Severin is his age and the fact that he is now the youngest member of a government that itself is among the youngest in Europe. However, it must be of greater interest to highlight that Adrian Severin was an exceptional student of the Bucharest Law School, that he continued to expand his education throughout the period after graduation, and that his thinking is modern and open, perfectly in line with the structures of thinking and practical action of the Petre Roman government. Any discussion with Mr. Adrian Severin risks running beyond its time limits, which is not astonishing if we consider the fact that he is directly involved in what it the spearhead of the priorities of the current governmental team: the reform. Consequently, we duly apologize to our readers for the length of the present interview.

[Motiu] Minister, there are a multitude of views, apprehensions, and more or less well informed assertions about the optimal speed of the structural reform of Romania's economy. Since we think that a discussion on this topic can wait, because it is already the main theme of every current debate, I suggest we dwell on the possible stages of the reform. What is the government's view of the complex process of reform?

[Severin] Indeed, it is very difficult to tell now whether the speed of the reform is right or wrong. In our opinion, the reform must be rapid, meaning that we must travel the obligatory stages within the shortest possible period of time, so that the process of reform can closely follow the objectives featured in the National Salvation Front [NSF] platform and subsequently expanded in the program announced by the prime minister when he presented his governmental team to Parliament. It is important to mention that the reform stages will be successive, although in some way they will have to overlap in order to ensure continuous, ongoing optimization of the rate of implementation of the reform.

The first stage will be the legislative reform. The entire old system of horizontal and vertical organization of Romania's economy was evidently rooted in regulations, particularly laws, and that clearly means that unless we thoroughly and rapidly change not only the spirit, but also the letter of these regulations, nothing can be radically changed. This is not only a matter of amending certain laws or abrogating others, but of effectively setting in place new regulations designed to structure the entire Romanian economy on the basis of a profoundly renovated foundation. That's the situation on the one hand. On the other hand we face the no less complex problem of the new institutions emerging in the economy, in the society, and in general. Naturally, some of them are established by law or on the basis of a law, but it is still a distinct stage of the process of reform, namely the stage of formation of a new institutional environment. I am now referring to institutions not in the purely legal sense of the term, but to institutions as functional entities expected to accompany the process of economic transition and to provide the necessary environment for this exceptionally complex and to a great extent, original process. I am now referring to the banks—whose role in the economy will experience some of the most radical changes—consulting firms, insurance societies, and other similar institutions without which the actual economic system cannot start off. And finally there will be an essential reorganization and restructuring of the economy in line with the new laws through the intermediary of the new institutions. What will this restructuring involve? First of all, the establishment of a new type of entities capable of functioning as economic entities in the real sense of the word. They were called economic before, too, but their real significance was rather far from the inherent connotations of this term. Economic means primarily and necessarily efficient. Efficiency is only possible under a market orientation in the sense of both input and output. As none of this existed in the practice of the old economic system, obviously we must reorganize our economic agencies as economic entities clearly oriented toward efficiency and toward the actual market requiremens. Naturally, especially at the macroeconomic level, the issues of economic reorganization require efforts to draft measures designed to ensure an optimal distribution of resources, best suited to our realities and opportunities, among the various branches of the national economy, so that the production will be absorbed in the market and will appropriately meet both the requirements of the domestic market, and ensure the neccessary disposable commodities to efficiently integrate Romania in the European and international economic flow. As the government clearly envisaged in the program it submitted to Parliament, one central and pressing problem is to correctly assess our capacities, because as far as our resources go, they are what they are. The resources cannot be changed. Consequently, our primary problem is to revise our capacities; especially at the beginning, this process will seem more like a process of adjustment, but later it will acquire the broader traits of restructuring and of reorganization from the roots up.

[Motiu] One of the provocative conflicts frequently ascribed to the government concerns its ability to intervene in real and comprehensive economic issues. The most frequent and extreme accusations run the gamut from: "The government is not getting involved, is not intervening, it disclaims the responsibility naturally incumbent on a government, especially at difficult times, etc." on the one hand, to direct accusations concerning the "government's intervention, its interference in various matters for which other political forces should be responsible," and so forth. In between these two extreme positions there are of course various other distinct opinions. The issue I want to suggest for discussion is the following: Can the government act other than through legislative means if it is determined to ensure the economic transition while at the same time developing democracy? The government's program announced, I quote, a "legislative shock." On the one hand, this shock is becoming increasingly evident, because the package of bills submitted by the government to Parliament is becomingincreasingly voluminous. On the other hand, in some social areas we are witnessing an opposite phenomenon with considerably negative effects. I am referring to what may be described as the phenomenon of a "silenced law" likely to favor corruption and certain notable economic disfunctions.

[Severin] Yes. This question gives me an opportunity to talk about one aspect which has unfortunately been discussed very little, if at all, and about a principle that also unfortunately, has been forgotten and should be reinstated, because it is essential. Namely: everything that is not forbidden is allowed. This is the principle providing the only basis for encouraging individual and collective social initiative. People, economic agencies, individuals, and firms must once again get into the habit of thinking in terms of this principle, and especially of acting within its broad perimeter. We must not search the law for what is allowed. Unfortunately, the decades of dictatorship imposed the opposite principle to the above, something that led to the blocks we were all familiar with. I don't need to consult the law to see if I am allowed to cross the street—if you'll allow me to simplify; all I need to do is to see if there may be any interdiction or restriction. If the law does feature an interdiction, I am obligated to observe it. I repeat, if there is. In every situation encountered in the economic and social life, or in general, we cannot effectively list all the possibilities available, be they major or minor, certainly not all of them. We have to relearn that where the law does not dispose, as the legal term goes, where it does not feature interdictions, no one can forbid anything. Consequently, I am free to do anything that needs doing. As an extention of what I said so far I'm thinking of the fact that there is much, often too much to do to provide many of the supplements that our team needs, such as the frequent absence of a minimum of juridical education.

We have also been accustomed to a multitude of extremely detailed laws designed to ensure narrow micromanagement and to provide for every possible attitude "in our street." So, within the context of the changes we plan even in the manner of drafting laws, we must pay greater attention to cultivating a general interest in interpreting the law. I don't have to point out that this kind of hermeneutics of legal texts is creative. We do not exclude the possibility that in the "legislative upheaval" demanded by the present situation, some of the laws which the Parliament will pass may contain omissions due to insufficient development of the bills by the government. However, no new laws will be required to deal with such omissions. Such a "legislative stampede" would be tantamount to, as Plato said, "cutting off the heads of the Hydra." Any possible omissions in the law, of which of course we hope there will be very few, can be resolved through interpretation; through an informed interpretation that will take into account both the spirit of the law and the intention of the legislators. Made in good faith, such an interpretation can secure the effects that the law is designed to achieve. In such a situation, those expected to implement the law and to stay within its perimeter must do so imaginatively and with courage. We are convinced that the law must be flexible and generous, so that it can provide an optimal framework for individual initiative.

And now, concerning the government's activities. Our decision was that everything we do should be based exclusively on the law. This is the main reason that we decided to start the reform and carry it out on all the fronts. I don't think that at the moment the legislative reform is absent from any area. There may only be areas in which it has not had time to penetrate yet, so we cannot speak of any vacuum in this respect. Anyway, I want to reapeat that the government will be guided exclusively by the law, in the belief that unless it bows to the law as an expression of the wishes of the people, we will not be able to achieve the state of law that we pursue.

[26 Sep pp 1, 3]

[Motiu] If you don't mind continuing, Minister, I would like to cite another recrimination frequently leveled at the government. It concerns a certain terminological vagueness because of which the "social costs" [of the reform] mentioned in the governmental program remained rather foggy. However, these social costs are an issue of the greatest interest in this program, so I would like to invite you to try to define them.

[Severin] Very well. Before attempting to specify what we understand under social costs, allow me to make a brief comment. It is often said that the government "decided to assume the social costs of the transition." This is not the most felicitous definition, in view of the fact that the government cannot assume anything because it does not have anything. Everything belongs to the citizens. As you see, I avoid saying "to the people," because that expression has been grossly abused. What the government can attempt and what it generally means to do is to reduce these costs as much as possible or to make them bearable, as bearable as possible, through a wise policy and a careful and optimally planned distribution of whatever revenues there are. Let us now try to foresee what the cost of the process of transition may be along the path of radical economic reform.

One of the first elements is unemployment, or, to use less scary terms, possible circumstances in which some of the labor force may become superfluous and cannot be employed in an efficient labor flow. I must reiterate the inseparable and compulsory relationship between the economic process and efficiency. If we were to incorporate the labor force in an inefficient economic process, we would be, as the expression goes, "stealing our own hat;" we would be doing something designed to conceal the reality, rather than resolve it. However, since we are determined to reorganize our economy along the lines of efficiency and to rebuild the entire society upon the foundation of truth, disguising or embellishing the reality would mean regression, something that our government cannot allow. I feel obligated to add something here. Take, for example, a plant that does not have the necessary resources to work so as to produce efficient market results. To maintain an unnecessary number of workers in such a plant means to perpetuate or even encourage inefficiency, even assuming that they worked well enough to utilize all their resources. Our problem is to organize activities so that the plant's production can be efficiently marketed and can meet market requirements. It thus becomes obvious that the restructuring process to which we are committed will also feature this type of adjustments, which are obligatory for turning inefficient labor into efficient labor or, more correctly said, eliminating inefficient work. The evident social cost stemming from this will make it necessary to transfer a certain percentage of the labor force from the sphere of actual economic activities to a waiting mode, so to say. This is a cost. What can the society do in this situation? What can the government do? Several things. First of all—and we are alrady implementing such a measure—we can draft the necessary legislation to introduce unemployment relief. Consequently, people will no longer be put on "unpaid leave," as it was previously described, but will instead receive state aid for the period of time needed to become employed in another, economically efficient unit. Similarly, the state can intervene in the sense of redistributing the fruits of economic activities so that the society can finance retraining programs, so that the respective workers can join sectors in which there is a shortage of manpower. The state can of course also decide to contribute to temporarily subsidizing certain plants in economic or financial trouble, until the respective plant has restructured or changed its profile. These, of course, are not all the means by which the stte can intervene to tone down the effects of unemployment.

Inflation is another cost of the economic transition. Or rather, inflationary pressures. In point of fact, unemployment and inflation are the two major elements of the social cost of the economic transition in our country. I don't need to dwell too much on the fact that we cannot achieve economic growth and unblock many of our economic structures without liberalizing prices. Except that, in a weak economy, characterized by profound imbalances, especially between resources and capacities, price liberalization is apt to undermine our means of halting the inflationary pressures. As far as its effects are concerned, we have to deal with the surface aspects of the disequilibrium between demand and supply. It is no secret that demand is far greater that supply in many areas—not only regarding food and clothing, but also a whole series of vital industrial products required for normal economic activities. The trend immediately experienced by the economic factor is one toward price increases; this situation then spreads throughout the economic trajectory traveled by these more expensive products. This situation naturally ends up affecting the people's real income. What can the state do in this situation? The government can apply what is known as the salary index, whereby a certain price increase is followed by a certain pay increase. In our economy, pay increases may have to always lag behind price increases;

that is an almost obligatory phenomenon for the economic recovery we pursue. Consequently, the government's role is to reduce as much as possible the effects of increased prices, even though it cannot completely neutralize them. Some time ago I had an opportunity to have long and extremely useful discussions with a Western minister who visited our country and who is a great authority on economic issues. One idea I got from him seems to me very important, namely that in this matter we cannot think in terms of good and bad, because good and bad are moral ideas which imply that the subject is free to choose his attitude. Consequently, we are obligated to stop thinking of whether our actions are good or bad, precisely because the reality from which we proceed is existential, not moral. And in particular, this reality is harsh. At this time we have a poor economy. We are a poor country. We have potential and good prospects for recovery, but at the present, a "photograph" of the real situation will show that we have a poor economy characterized, among other things, by few commodities at high prices. Once we recognize this situation we can have the strength to begin implementing the measures required to build an economy with many commodities at low prices. A rich economy. If we don't recognize the reality and try to maintain at any cost the posture of an economy with few commodities at possibly low prices, we will not be able to cure the economy of its ills. We must have the strength to utilize our real potential and to accept temporary difficulties that are vital for achieving a radical reform apt to permit Romania to build a healthy, modern, and competitive market economy.

[Motiu] Another topic I would like to suggest stems from the unavoidable observation of our undoubtedly simplistic tendency to hold the government responsible for everything. For everything bad, of course. Before you position yourself for defense, so to speak, I would like to invite you to talk in greater detail about what is possible, about what can be done to make it clearer to people—primarily to the trade unions, which represent and must represent a real and an increasingly important force in our economy—that there are no antagonisms or fundamentally divergent interests between the government and the various social forces. It seems to me that in order to ensure a real dialogue, the government and these social forces must treat each other as partners, so that neither of them will resort to measures only too familiar to us, like threats, blackmail, etc., in the moral realm of which we have no right to expect to be rid too easily.

[Severin] I don't know what to say to the topic you suggested; in any event, I don't want to talk about what the mass media should do along this line, because I don't know. What I can tell you is that each one of us must adopt the means of action and resources of conviction that will permit us to talk to each other. What I think should be kept in mind at all times is that when you have, as we do, separation of powers in the state, a process of liberalization of public life faster than almost any other in history, and when the freedom of the press and of expression is increasingly becoming a regular part of everyday life, clearly any government that adopted positions hostile to the economic interests could not have much of a chance to govern. Consequently, the government is determined not to impose anything in any area. The government is endeavoring to mediate among the political forces of the country and to discharge the duties it assumed under the unconditional rule of the law. Thus, its objective is not to reconcile opposites, but to seek to ensure maximum efficiency in all the compartments of the society, a minimum of protection, and maximum satisfaction for the citizens. That is precisely why the disfunctions that may appear at local level and possible controversies between employees and administration cannot be solved directly by the government, but solely through the effects of the laws dictated by the period of transition. There is no question of divergent interests between the government and various social categories. The government as a whole is conceived and will always act as a balancing institution designed to seek the elements of and solutions for such a balance. I am not necessarily referring to this particular government, the government that assumed the responsibility for the transition, because I am convinced that these principles are and must be valid for any responsible government. No government in the world can ignore the interests of all or of the majority of wage-earners in favor of some abstract economic efficiency.

[Motiu] But do you think that there haven't been governments that accepted or practiced such an approach to social leadership?

[Severin] Only in appearance, I think. Only an irresponsible government can practice such a policy. We are talking, I hope, about a responsible government.

National Armed Forces Day Commemorated

Day Marked in Czechoslovakia

AU2210205690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1941 GMT 22 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/10/990—On the day of the Romanian Armed Forces, wreaths were laid on behalf of the local authorities and of Romania's Embassy to Prague on the Romanian Heroes' Memorials in the localities of Zvolen, Lucenec, Piestany, Kromeriz, Brno, Havlickuv Brod in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

During the ceremonies, attended by Ambassador Ion Ciubotaru and members of the embassy, reference was made to the blood contribution of the Romanian Armed Forces, the Romanian people's human and material efforts in the definitive defeat of fascism in Europe.

The sacrifice of the more than 30,000 Romanian military dead and buried in Czechoslovakia strengthened the traditional friendship between the two peoples and in the conditions created by the popular uprisings and the free elections in Romania and the Czech and Slovak Federal

Republic call for greater efforts on behalf of both sides to more powerfully develop the collaboration between them.

Stanculescu Attends Festivities

AU2410195390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1843 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/10/1990—Festivities celebrating for the first time the Day of the Romanian Army in freedom took place on Wednesday at the Romanian Heroes' Memorial in Carei, a town lying on the last strip of Romanian land freed from Horthyist-Hitlerite occupation.

Attending were ten thousand Romanian, Hungarian and German inhabitants from Carei as well as from neighbouring settlements and from Bihor, Cluj, Maramures and Salaj counties. Present were also representatives of the country's presidency, generals, officers, soldiers and war veterans. Colonel-General Victor Stanculescu, defense minister, who attended the festivities, warmly congratulated the whole Romanian Army for its courage and victories in the battle to free the motherland and to achieve and maintain national independence.

General Stanculescu further underlined the part played by the Romanian Army in the December 1989 revolution when it had joined the people in their fight. The participants in the "glorious fighting road" relay initiated by the minister of national defense arrived.

The relay race followed the glorious fighting route once taken by the Romanian Army's mountain troops. In the autumn of 1944 those troops had engaged in fierce battles against the German-Horthyist conquerors to liberate the north-western part of the country. The relay race departed on October 9 from Tirgu Mures bound for Carei. At the Romanian Soldier's Memorial in Baia Mare the runners were handed a touching message urging them "to give the people everywhere along your route our best wishes, tell them that we, all who live and think in a Romanian fashion, cherish the memory of our heroes and, if need be, we'll know how to die for them and for the country's integrity. Tell those you meet that the Army has been and still is on the people's side and defending the people's interests.

Wreaths were laid at the Romanian Heroes' Memorial on behalf of Romania's president, of the National Defense Ministry, of some political formations and of the county prefects present at the event. A religious service consecrating the monument followed, performed by the Reverend Father Dr. Justinian Maramureseanul, bishop of Baia Mare, assisted by the Oradea and Cluj bishops and by a group of priests.

A rich and varied cultural-artistic show followed.

The war veterans' chorus accompanied by the army brass band sang "Cross the Carpathians, Battalions" to the enthusiasm of the whole audience.

Renewal of National Harmony Deemed 'Impossible'

AU2310153390 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 oct 90 p 1

[Valerian Stan article "The Impossible Compromise"]

[Excerpts] The deplorable state of Romanian society after emerging from the long communist night has naturally generated a multitude of solutions and scenarios for renewal. We have all realized the need for moral regeneration.

We understood this and immediately assumed the duty of restoring the economy. The first people, those concerned with filling the power vacuum, preached "the imperative of national reconciliation" over the first free microphones. We said they were right. They were, so to speak, the first well-meaning people. In those December days and to the tune of the Ode to Joy, we admitted our mistakes to ourselves and to our fellow man and swore earthly deliverance to ourselves and to each other. We embraced each other and, for the first time after so many years, we had the strength to look each other in the eye. We thought we had come to terms with it all; perhaps at that time we had.

For some time now, however, the pathological anxiety of our leaders tells us that, in fact, things are completely different—namely, that we are a long way from the sweet state of social brotherhood. They constantly and unmistakably invite us to work for "national consensus, national conciliation, national reconciliation," and so forth. [passage omitted]

If, however, we are sure that these preaching pacifists are bombarding us with pacifist slogans only because they feel guilty, then we should be allowed to refuse such a "consensus, conciliation, and reconciliation" because it cannot mean an actual conciliation, but something completely different.

If, for instance—with the Romanians' famous characteristic of tolerance—we allow ourselves to be "persuaded" that the communist misery was imposed on us only by foreign tanks and that we were all accomplices in enduring it for such a long time, it does not mean that it is difficult for us to understand that the main architects of this historic violation are, in fact, natives whom we will forgive if they have not killed and with whom we will come to terms ("national consensus" as they ask us) if we are not asked to continue to endure them stepping on our necks.

However, so long as all but the last wave of the communist nomenklatura is regaining the power it yearned for throughout its "opposition to Ceausescu's policy," and so long as the activists of the single party regain the privileges that were threatened for a moment in December and the Securitate's apparatus of terror is only a step away from completely regrouping, the aforementioned appeal for conciliation is so feeble that it cannot deceive anyone. [passage omitted]

The necessary national harmony cannot be established without truth and historic justice. Any other attempt would only be a deplorable compromise and, luckily, an impossible one.

Better Conditions Requested for Foreign Students

AU2310194890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1833 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1990—The pupil organization the National Liberal College, Youth and the Pupils' Organization of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party "Anexa", sent a protest to the news agency ROMPRES to show their discontent at the improper conditions provided for the Bessarabian and Bukovinan pupils studying in Romania.

We ask the Ministry of Education and Science to allot additional funds to improve the current situation, the protest reads.

Poll on Public Reaction to Trials for Dec Crimes

AU2410195790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1623 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/10/1990—"DACIA" polling office, a private, independent and apolitical body, has polled a number of "ADEVARUL" daily readers on public reaction to the trials of the people charged for the December 16-24, 1989 genocide.

Polled were 819 readers belonging to various social and professional categories.

66.1 per cent of the subjects think individual responsibility of each defendant ought to be distinctly dealt with, by having a separate trial for each defendant instead of trying them by groups.

As for the charges against the accused, 52.3 per cent of the polled persons think crimes committed over December 16-24, 1989 as well as any other offences made during the defendants' whole activity should be the legal ground for a penal sentence, while 47 per cent ask that the accused be tried only for their December crimes.

Here are the main categories of deeds and activities to charge the accused with if separately tried, according to the poll: 31.9 per cent for economic activities; 24.7 per cent for taking part in the genocide; 22.3 per cent for political activities; and 22.11 per cent for moral offence.

With regard to the innocence presumption being applied, 61.4 per cent are for trials under investigative arrest.

Concerning the charges made by the press and television against former Securitate troops immediately after the revolution, opinions are fairly distributed, as follows: 48.1 per cent believe such accusations are groundless, while 49.8 per cent think they are justified. 2.1 per cent of the polled lot declined to answer that question.

Opposition Figures Dinca, Maries Released

AU2410202890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1925 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/10/1990—After a minute and careful investigation the Bucharest Municipality Tribunal, the Second Penal Section, decided on October 24 that trial continue in liberty of the defendants still under arrest for the deeds they had made on June 13, namely 29 defendants among whom Dumitru Dinca and Teodor Maries. They were sent to trial for outrage to morals, illegal entrance to certain local organisms' headquarters, damage to public wealth with grave consequences. Noteworthy is that during the first session the court decided ex officio that underaged defendants be tried in liberty.

The Wednesday's [24 October] decision of the court chaired by Anghelina Ion Ninet is based on the deep analysis of the evidence of the inquiry stage as well as of the trial. In three-day time the Prosecutor's Office may make an appeal, period over which the defendants are still under arrest.

The next term of the trial is on November 14.

* Former Securitate Officers on December Events

91BA0018C Bucharest DEMOCRATIA in Romanian No 36, 24-30 Sep 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Was this Your Revolution? This Is How It Was!"]

[Text] We reproduce on this page an unsigned text that we received. We are doing so in compliance with the right of speech and in the conviction that any detail can be valuable for the process of analyzing in depth the events of December 1989, even if not everything will be proven completely true. The authors of the text seem to be close to sources that may be worth considering. Especially since they are former officers of the defunct Securitate, who did not lack means of information-....DEMOCRATIA

11-15—Massive arrivals of so-called Hungarian tourists in Timisoara and Soviet tourists in Cluj.

15-16—Demonstrations of support begin, at their initiative, for the sinister "priest;"

—The militia and Securitate not having responded with force, the next stage is implemented: massive destructions of public property designed to provoke forcible interventions—human victims were needed.

16-17—Against the background of the general confusion that was swelling in the city, the army intervened to restore the seriously destabilized order;

—That was the opportunity long awaited by the "tourists," who, against the noisy background of shots fired in the air, began to shoot and knife demonstrators from the back, while remaining among them and inciting them;

—The army came under attack; according to the scenario, the army was expected to respond with massive fire (the "famous," "independent," and "democratic" radio stations of the West were already advancing on every wavelength with reports of an alleged massacre that in reality never happened).

19-20—Against the backdrop of reports—the old disease of the Romanian mass media—the entire population of Timisoara was roused to demonstrations and strikes;

—In that situation, the army and the units of the Interior Ministry and of the Department of State Security were recalled to their barracks.

19-20-21—Many of the "tourists" and their associates among the local population began to migrate—an old custom—from the major cities of Transylvania which, according to the scenario, were to be destabilized: Cluj, Sibiu, Alba Iulia, Tirgu Mures, Satu Mare, Oradea, etc.

20—Rumors increased in Bucharest about the arrival of the "relatives" of the thousands of victims of Timisoara;

—In the morning there was a lot of dithering about whether to hold a "pro-Ceausescu" meeting, which was an opportunity for the "envoys" from Timisoara to infiltrate the participants;

—The decision was taken to hold the meeting;

—The participants filled the square from several directions;

—Because of the hesitations of the organizers, it became too late to take measures to ensure order;

—Unaware of this fact, the "envoys" refrained from using weapons for fear of being discovered. On the other hand, they used reinforced steel prongs—used to hold up plastic banners—to prod participants from the back and thus give them the impression, against the background of the noise of fireworks and of short-circuited PA loudspeakers—that they were under fire;

—Scenes of horror occurred: innocent men, women, and even children were stampeded to death;

—The meeting ended; groups of "mourners" from Timisoara occupied positions around the big hotels where a lot of foreign newsmen "happened" to be waiting for the past few days; they described in great detail the "monstrous" crimes perpetrated in Timisoara and urged the people of Bucharest to rise to battle; drinks laced with drugs were distributed to keep up their courage (the doctors at the Coltea hospital inquired whether the patients brought in had drunk of the bottles waiting on all the fences and in all the streets around Hotel Intercontinental);

—In the evening, against the backdrop of shots fired in the air, more participants were shot from behind—like in Timisoara—in order to produce "mobilizing" victims for Bucharest's population; no evidence has been produced so far to implicate the military forces present in the streets.

22—The "coincidental" occurrence of the reports given in Timisoara to the radio stations and the genuine explosion caused among some of the city inhabitants by the shortages that the entire nation suffered for years, drew into the streets thousands of citizens of Bucharest who, equally outraged by the shortages and the reports of such horrors, brought down Ceausescu and the entire leadership of the country;

—The first act of the scenario cooked up in foreign laboratories was successful: as of 1200-1300 Romania no longer had a state leadership.

22, 1700 hours—The second act of the scenario followed: the disbanding of the Interior Ministry and the DSS [Department of State Security] on account of all kinds of "deeds;" upon learning of them, the "people" demanded that they be dismantled, and the witchhunt began; the "stage managers" were celebrating; they smuggled out of the country the "actors" (those responsible for numerous victims), the frontiers having been thrown open by Ion Pacepa's former collaborator, the CIA agent Dumitru Mazilu, together with Silviu Brucan. Double agent—CIA, KGB—Nicolae Militaru, an old traitor identified by the DSS as serving the KGB, and his wife—a "professional" Russian woman—who had remained in freedom thanks to the KGB's protection, smuggled in many other agents who were to continue destabilizing Romania and deepening its disarray;

—Attempts to dismantle the army failed, although "minister" Nicolae Militaru had tried everything possible to do so;

—another method of action was tried—the establishment of the so-called CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army]—but that failed, too.

23-31—The tragedy had not ended yet: many among the Romanian people—the Romanian nation—came to their senses and began to disrupt the continuation of the play.

A few words about the "main actors":

Dumitru Mazilu—former highranking Securitate officer, adviser to Nicolae Ceausescu, and a valued collaborator of Ion Pacepa, who sold out not only Nicolae Ceausescu, but the Romanian people. Unstable character, ambitious. Paranoic symptoms. Against this backdrop, he was easily compromised and recruited by the CIA.

Played an important role in the entire destabilization play thanks to the "persona" created for him by Radio Free Europe, a CIA agency.

—Energetically worked to bring about the dismantling of the DSS, thus creating the conditions for the serious destabilization of the Romanian state;

—Managed to remove the man who had ordered the borders closed (General Guse), thus allowing all the "tourists" (terrorists) to pull out undisturbed;

—Established a party whose core was used to produce large-scale disorder in the center of Bucharest;

—Continued to cooperate with the CIA under duress (see his return to Romania and his humiliating—for anybody else—attempts to be reaccepted in the CPUN [Provisional National Unity Council]);

—Was payrolled by the Hungarian secret service, too.

Proof: all his activities prior to and after 22 December. The Prosecutor General should have action brought against him through Interpol for the crime of incitement to genocide—his call, "Death to the Securitate members" was the only action that met the legal definition of genocide.

Silviu Brucan—former Romanian ambassador to the United States, was one of those who actively contributed to the establishment of socialism in Romania. Was recruited, because of his origin, by the KGB and then by the CIA.

Seemingly intelligent, he tried to take advantage of the fact that he had known of part of the scenario to destabilize the country—both the KGB and the CIA had apprised him of various data.

Ordered the arrest of the DSS leaders at the demand of the CIA-KGB, thus paving the way for Romania's dismemberment by the Hungarian special forces infiltrated into the country.

Carried out criminal activities against the country both before and after 22 December 1989.

Attempted to arrogate undue merits for the overthrow of the Ceausescu regime.

Nicolae Militaru—former general at the Ministry of National Defense, removed, like General Serb, for high treason. Rescued, like Serb, by pressures from Moscow. Continued his anti-Romanian activities.

In the confusion created, he removed from the army leadership all the competent cadres, thus contributing—thanks to the people he promoted to its leadership—to the spread of chaos and confusion.

Made a criminal contribution to the banning of the DSS; twice ordered the execution of cadres of the former Fifth Directorate and USLA [Special Anti-Terrorist Combat Unit] for so-called "terrorist activities."

He personally asked that former Colonel Trosca of USLA come to defend the Defense Ministry, and after ascertaining that the latter was on his way, also personally ordered fire opened on him claiming that "the terrorists were coming."

Col. Trosca was the officer who, while working in the Fourth Directorate (Military Counterintelligence), proved General Militaru's treason, for which Gen. Militaru sentenced him to death and had him executed.

Like others, he arrogated merits he did not earn and could not have earned in the organization of the so-called revolution.

Although the above persons no longer hold ruling positions in the state, their activities are continued by many of the Romanian emigres who returned to Romania and secured strategic positions in the mass media, most of whom are payrolled by the big powers.

It should be known that the secret services recruited and continue to recruit collaborators from among defectors and people studying abroad, by putting them in compromising situations and blackmailing them. Many offered their services on their own accord. The persons targeted and recruited came mostly from families who were able to propel them to leading positions in the former socialist state.

Their treason was proven by, among other things, the position they adopted on the ethnic issue. Concrete evidence was supplied by many "independent" newspapers and by certain historical parties, who ignored and continue to ignore the two tragic events in the history of the Romanian people: the Russian ultimatum and the Vienna diktat. Normally, the readership of those antinational newspapers should be alerted and sensitized to the fact, and measures should be taken against their leaders.

Similarly, because of the above reasons, the absence of any reaction from certain members of the government is highly suspicious. They should be asked for whom they are working and what their purposes are.

The sinister Hungarian "priest" Laszlo Tokes was the one who served as bait for the people of Timisoara, because of whom the Hungarian "tourists" caused hundreds of victims throughout the country.

But there was one man who, to his credit, took a position that foiled the schemes of the hotheads in Budapest.

And now a few words about the much maligned Fifth Directorate:

—Its cadres were selected from among the best cadres of the Interior Ministry and the DSS;

—Because of the specific nature of their work, they were closely familiar with the country's major problems;

—Also because of their work they were aware of the appreciation that CEAUSESCU enjoyed abroad, and of developments in European socialist countries;

—They were devoted to Romania body and soul;

—Because of the periodical briefings they attended, they had a broad view of the phenomena that were causing confusion throughout the world;

—Thanks to the same sources, they were permanently informed about the troubles of the Moldavians across the Prut river (every Moldavian killed in Afghanistan was felt as a personal loss) and about the crimes and base schemes plotted against Romania by Budapest and the Hungarian emigres who—in contrast to the Romanian emigres who denied their own mothers—never forgot that the blood of Attilla the Hun was coursing through their veins;

—Ever since 1965, these cadres became aware of the seemingly unsolvable impasse in which they would be if discontent broke out because of Romania's deep crisis; thus, man by man, beginning with the officers who worked together with the members of the Political Executive Committee and certainly down to the cleaning women, they decided they could side only with the people.

The scenario plotted by the CIA and KGB and produced with mercenaries hired by Budapest was foiled con brio by the cadres of the former security and guard directorate.

And finally, one question for all the "revolutionaries" and "dissidents" who now attack the cadres of the former Securitate.

On 21 December 1989 the cadres of the Fifth Directorate who were at the former Central Committee headquarters had at their disposal more than 200,000 bullets.

In view of the fact that in circumstances involving human columns one bullet can kill four people, have they ever asked themselves how many dead there would have been and what would have happened with the "revolution" if the former Fifth Directorate cadres had really been shooting?

And let it be known that if they had wanted to, the latter could very well have used their weapons and ammunition.

That's all for now!

P.S. According to reports, such actions had been planned for the New Year, when groups of wellwishers came out into the streets. Who was preparing this revolution?? Why are they not bringing evidence today?

And to conclude, a parallel that we think is illustrative:

Romania and Israel (similarities):

—Both have only one good neighbor—the sea;

—Both have their legitimate right to their ancestral land contested, despite their multimillenary history.

Romania and Israel (differences):

—Israel has not disbanded its intelligence services; it would run a mortal danger were it to do so;

—Romania has done so. Is it possible that [phrase illegible];

—The Jewish diaspora, wherever it may be, in Romania or in the United States, has only one objective: Greater Israel!

—The Romanian diaspora, in its greatest majority, has only one objective: hard currency, dollars, sterlings, etc. Are our conationals indifferent to the fate of their country of origin, the country of their anscestors?

Romanians, what do you plan on doing?

Note: the editorial staff is not responsible for the truth of these data.

Presidency Orders FEC To Maintain Law, Order

LD2410160190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Ohrid, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—This is our last chance to end the unilateral suspensions of federal laws, while taking full responsibility for the future course and success of the reforms embarked on and in doing so, to pave the way for peaceful and equal dialogue about the future nature of relations in Yugoslavia. The SFRY Presidency came to this conclusion at a session held today in Ohrid. The SFRY Presidency session, chaired by President Borisav Jovic, considered the enforcement of the Constitution and the rule of law throughout the country, current topical international affairs, ways of advancing its method of work from the viewpoint of its efforts to resolve the crisis in Yugoslavia, as well as other issues within its competence.

With regard to the increasingly frequent violation of the SFRY Constitution and federal laws, which the SFRY Presidency informed the SFRY Assembly about, and set in motion, specific initiatives, today's session considered ways of overcoming the crisis, the statement from the session notes.

The SFRY Presidency has drawn attention to the necessity for all republics and autonomous provinces to end the practice of adopting constitutions contradicting the SFRY Constitution and federal legal documents. In doing so, they would create a constructive atmosphere toward the upcoming democratic discussions and toward finding ways out of the crisis, in which the SFRY Presidency will continue to take an active part.

In accordance with this and proceeding from the constitutional responsibility of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] for the implementation of federal regulations, the SFRY Presidency is calling on the FEC and other federal organs responsible for the situation in specific areas to use all their constitutional and legal powers, and to take the necessary measures to ensure the consistent implementation of federal laws.

In connection with the meeting of foreign ministers from Balkan countries in Tirana, the SFRY Presidency expressed its belief that this meeting will open up new areas for the development of inter-Balkan cooperation and the enrichment of its content in many areas. The convening of the meeting and its expected successful outcome is being seen as an expression of common interests among the Balkan countries, and also further afield in Europe, in the development of various forms of regional cooperation and more direct involvement in wider European integrational trends.

The SFRY Presidency assessed that the ministerial meeting has special importance for Yugoslavia, proceeding from our interest in strengthening political good neighborliness and our orientation toward active participation in the processes of European cooperation. The aims guiding Yugoslavia in its relations and cooperation with Balkan countries are founded on the principles of the CSCE as a general framework for cooperation and security in Europe without bloc, ideological, and other confrontations, and with respect for human and national rights, the statement from today's session of the SFRY Presidency in Ohrid states.

After the session the members of the SFRY Presidency held talks with representatives of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and Ohrid on current sociopolitical issues.

Markovic, Independent TU Confederation Hold Talks

LD2510053890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0128 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Next year, Yugoslavia could request from international financial institutions a credit for social changes, Ante Markovic, Yugoslvia's federal premier, said today in a talk with representatives for Yugoslavia's Confederation of Independent Trade Unions.

Representatives for the Yugoslav Government and the trade unions are agreed, before asking for such a credit, to work out precise programmes in which to invest such means, it was made known.

This time, it was agreed that, from now on, the government more regularly consult the trade unions on definite matters.

Of late, the federal government and the independent trade unions organization have often come to clashes. In the heart of the dispute lies the government's insistence on having the growth of pays limited.

Serbian Authorities Remove Yutel TV Transmitters

LD2510024190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1402 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Competent Serbian authorities foiled the transmission of independent television station Yutel programs because it has been established that the existing federal norms and republican laws on the communication links have been violated. Appropriate measures and sanctions will be taken against perpetrators of related illegal acts, Vasilije Joksic, assistant Serbian secretary for transport and communications, told TANJUG today.

An on-site inspection carried out by the republican Secretariat for Transport and Communications and the Belgrade Secretariat for Internal Affairs noted that a vehicle containing a transmitter for television programs was discovered on Mt. Avala. It was also established that the vehicle had no registration plates and that those charged with transmitting Yutel programs did not hold temporary work permits. According to Joksic, the Vojvodina Secretariat for Transport and Communications established an almost identical state of affairs on Mt. Fruska Gora.

Yutel Only Carried on Sarajevo TV

LD2410223890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2132 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—The one-hour programme broadcast on the Yugoslav TV channel (Yutel) yesterday was transmitted only by TV station Sarajevo, in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but that has not discouraged this television which continues to broadcast its programmes, Yutel's production manager Silvija Luks told TANJUG on Wednesday [24 October].

Competent organs in the Republic of Serbia prevented last night's broadcasting of a programme of the independent Yutel channel, as it was found to be in flagrant violation of all federal and republican regulations governing the system of communications, Serbian Assistant Secretary for Transport and Communications Eng. Vasilije Joskic said.

Under a federal law on the system of communications, Yutel yesterday obtained a provisional 60-day work permit. The permit is not subject to opinion of the republican secretariat for transport and communications and requires the approval of the Federal Secretariat for National Defence and Federal Police only—Director of the Federal Radio Communication Administration Dr Drasko Marin explained.

Yutel is not a station of the federal government or Prime Minister Ante Markovic and the Alliance of Reformist Forces he initiated, Federal Deputy Secretary for Information Mustafa Cengic said. It is a joint stock company in which the state should have 51 per cent of shares, and it is above parties, he said.

In their replies to a TANJUG poll conducted in all Yugoslav TV stations, responsible officials cited different reasons why Yutel's programme was not transmitted last night.

Petar Ljubojevic, director of Novi Sad TV (Vojvodina Province), said that there were no transmission because of full schedule, while Milutin Radulovic, director of Titograd TV (Republic of Montenegro), argued that was not known at the time that the programme can be transmitted through the traffic handling facilities of Belgrade Television (Serbia).

Skopje Television (Macedonia), said that the programme was not transmitted due to technical difficulties of an objective nature. Responsible officials in the Croatian Television in Zagreb (Croatia) gave no reason why the programme was not transmitted.

Pristina Television (Kosovo Province), said that the programme was not transmitted last night nor would it be soon, and that their attitude was similar to that of responsible officials in Belgrade Television.

Dusan Mitevic, director general of Belgrade Television (Serbia), said last night that the programe "was not transmitted and will not be in the future because it was to be broadcast by special, non-registered transmitter installed in a piratical way, without necessary permits from the competent repubiican authorities. This was violation of the Republic of Serbia's sovereignty, a criminal offence punishable under the law."

Independent Association of Vojvodina Journalists, which has about 400 members, today described yesterday's prevention of Yutel from getting to the public as another contribution to the attempts aimed breaking up Yugoslavia.

Croatia's Tudjman Says 'Yugoslav Idea' Exhausted

LD2410214990 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Croatian Republic, spoke today to German and Danish television journalists. The interview was within the context of preparations for special programs by these television organizations on the situation in Yugoslavia.

The foreign journalists were interested in the democratic changes and in the political situation in Croatia about which President Tudjan said: We want a confederation so that Croatia can ensure its sovereignty in both the political and economic arenas. The Croatian people have opted for this in light of their history. The Yugoslav idea in the present set-up has been spent and if an agreement among the republics becomes impossible Croatia will seek its place in Europe under its own banner.

Asked as to how Croatia will react to yesterday's decisions by the Serbian government, President Tudjman replied: Serbia which advocates federation is in fact behaving as a fully independent state. The Croatian leadership will discuss this decision and do everything it can to protect its interests, said President Tudjman.

Pregl Criticizes Serb Assembly Steps

LD2410215190 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Now a little more about the measures taken by the Serbian Assembly yesterday: As we informed you at the beginning of our broadcast, during his interview with German and Danish Television, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Croatian Republic, said among other things that Serbia, which is advocating federation, is in fact behaving as if it were a fully independent country, and that the croatian leadership will discuss this decision and do everything to protect Croatia's interests. However, let us now hear what Zivko Pregl, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, who is in Sarajevo, has said about the Serbian Assembly measures.

It is difficult to say accurately at this point in time what kind of effects the latest measures adopted by the Serbian Assembly will have, because the federal government has not yet had an opportunity to be briefed on them in detail. However, in general such measures cannot have any long-term prospects and they will not have the expected effect. Furthermore, the most serious harm from these measures will fall on economic factors in Serbia and its citizens as consumers, because Serbia will find itself in serious economic isolation. This was stated today by Zivko Pregl, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, who is taking part in the 12th Yugoslav Marketing Association Congress in Sarejevo.

In Zivko Pregl's view, the so-called Serbian packet for the economic blockade of Yugoslavia will not seriously threaten the economic program of the Federal Executive Council. However, it will certainly help deepen the political and constitutional crisis in the country.

Commenting on the initiative by delegates of the Serbian Assembly's Chamber of Associated Labor to recall Aleksandar Mitrovic because, as a federal senior official, he had allegedly betrayed Serbian interests, Pregl said that even from the point of view of the issue at hand, this demand is of no consequence since members of the Federal Executive Council are elected and released from their duties by the Yugoslav Assembly on the federal prime minister's proposal.

HDZ, SDS Reportedly Near Political Agreement

AU2410203890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Vesna Knezevic report from Zagreb]

[Text] The Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] and the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] seem to be nearing a political agreement on resolving the crisis in the republic. This was hinted at in a joint statement which was signed by representatives of the two parties' leaderships, Slavko Degoricija and Ivan Vekic for the HDZ and Vojislav Vukcevic and Ilija Sasic for the SDS. Here is Vesna Knezevic in Zagreb:

[Knezevic] The statement was written in diplomatic language and only hints at the details of an agreement. Contacts between representatives of the two parties will be resumed. The prerequisites for continuing negotiations are mutual trust and the totally equal political position of the negotiators.

The statement says that, in the framework of their political programs, both sides will work on settling interethnic disagreements. All forms of violence are discounted. The need is emphasized for party contacts in organizational units on a lower level. Both political parties, as the end of the statement says, are aware of their responsibility for the peaceful cohabitation of Serbs and Croats.

Degoricija discounted the possibility of the reading of the statement turning into a news conference, but something was nevertheless said. First, that the meeting of the committee for the cultural autonomy of Serbs, which was held earlier in the Assembly, was a direct consequence of the agreement between the two parties. Ilija Sasic, president of the SDS for Slavonija, said that the agreement will have daily political consequences and will calm down the agitated political scene in Croatia. More than this (?was learned) only at the insistence of the journalists, that an agreement between the HDZ and the SDS is expected very soon. This could even be on Saturday [27 October] and could mean that the barriers in the Knin region will be taken down.

Slovene Chamber Proposes Measures Against Serbia

LD2410130590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1135 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—In connection with the latest Serbian measures, the management committee of the Slovene Economic Chamber today proposed to the republican government the preparation of a package of countermeasures to protect the economy of this republic.

The reciprocal measures, it was said, are not the basic goal; rather, they are a solution which should be applied if efforts to solve this problem politically, according to the Constitution and the current laws, prove unsuccessful. Tomaz Kosir, president of the Slovene Economic chamber, said that the Serbian measures were completely unconstitutional and unreasonable as regards the Yugoslav market. In his view, Slovenia should not take countermeasures. However, all the other speakers proposed to the Slovene Government that countermeasures should be prepared, and such a conclusion was adopted.

Regarding Dagmar Suster's candidature for president of the Yugolav Economic Chamber, the management committee decided not to give up the candidature. The Slovene Economic Chamber management committee did not make any definite assessments or conclusions about a draft law on the privatization of enterprises, which, it was said, was taken off the agenda of the Slovene Assembly session due to be held tomorrow.

Draft Republic Production Tax Law Approved

LD2510053390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2015 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—At its session today the Republic of Slovenia Executive Council endorsed a draft law on taxes and duties on purchasing meat, milk, and dairy products outside the Republic of Slovenia. Government spokesman Branko Podobnik said at today's press conference that the aim of the law is to provide extra protection for domestic production.

"This law is not our reaction to the measures passed by the Serbian Assembly," Podobnik said. Maks Bastl, minister of market and general economic affairs, said on the same occasion that Slovenia's economy sold about eight to nine percent of its products to Serbia while it bought about the same amount in Serbia.

If Slovenia's sales to Serbia fall by about 20 percent, then Slovenia's industrial production will go down by about three percent, Maks Bastl said.

The Slovene Government did not discuss in particular the measures adopted in the Serbian Assembly yesterday it was said, but it nevertheless concluded at today's session that it would study them and take certain measures if needed. [passage omitted]

Demos, Serbian Democratic Party on Voting, Future

LD2510051490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0004 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Serbia's Democratic Party and Slovenia's ruling Demos [United Opposition] bloc have agreed that a relevant discussion of Yugoslavia's democratic transformation is possible only after multiparty elections in all of Yugoslavia's six republics, points out a Democratic Party communique issued today after talks held here yesterday with Slovenia's Demos bloc representatives.

The representatives of one of Serbia's key-opposition parties, the Democratic Party, emphasise in the communique that their party's attitude towards the future structure of Yugoslavia is determined by the fact that a considerable part of the Serbian people lives outside Serbia. Therefore, unacceptable to them is every solution underlying the creation of independent states in which local Serbs would be national minorities.

Joze Pucnik, the Demos president, told Radio Slovenia today that talks in Belgrade with individual Serbian opposition parties were interesting, but not particularly successful.

If the opposition win elections in Serbia, then ensuing talks would be lighter, but, Pucnik added, the basic constallation in the problem would remain the same. Therefore, Serbia's elections are not of essential importance to us, Pucnik said.

Two Macedonian Groups Threaten Border Blockades

LD2410150190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1226 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Ohrid, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Two associations of Macedonians in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia have threatened to block all crossings on the borders with Greece, Bulgaria and Albania on Thursday [24 October] because the issue of the Macedonian national minority has not been put on the agenda of the second meeting of the Balkan foreign ministers which opened today and ends tomorrow in Tirana.

The Bitolj-based Association of the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia and the Gevgelija-based Association of the Macedonian World Congress have announced that the border crossings in Macedonia will be blocked from 12:00 to 15:00 hours tomorrow.

The Republic of Macedonia Presidency last week stated that it expected the issue of national minorities to be given a priority at the Tirana meeting and it urged the Yugoslav delegation to raise the issue of the Macedonian national minority in Bulgaria, Greece and Albania.

The unresolved issue of the Macedonian national minority in the three neighbouring countries has been the cause of many protests and complaints in the Republic of Macedonia, where the Yugoslav authorities and diplomacy have been criticized for not doing enough to effect a solution of the respective problem. The road traffic at crossings on the border with Greece was, for instance, blocked several times during this past summer season, with the Greek side retaliating with equal measure in some cases.

Macedonian Election Poll Indicates Communist Lead

AU2410143690

[Editorial Report] Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian on 20 October on pages 1 and 5 carries a 1,200-word report by J. Kocovska on the results of a public opinion poll on the forthcoming elections in Macedonia conducted by the Institute for Sociological and Political-Legal Research, entitled "'Do Not Knows' Will Decide the Elections."

According to the report, "the sample of 855 voters in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, who were randomly selected on the basis of the census of 1981, is a relevant and representative sample."

The sample consists of 68.07 percent of Macedonians, 20.82 percent of Albanians, 4.21 percent of Turks, 1.56 percent of Serbs, 1.05 percent of Yugoslavs, and 4.09 percent of other nationalities.

The results of the poll are presented in two tables as follows:

Table 1. "Which party will you vote for?"

[figures in percentages]

1. League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation	22.11
2. Party for Democratic Prosperity	16.26
3. Alliance of Reform Forces	5.5
4. Socialist Party of Macedonia	3.51

5. Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity [VMRO-DPMNE]	2.22
6. Social Democratic Party	1.4
7. Workers Party	1.05
8. People's Party	0.94
9. Democratic Alliance-Farmers Party	0.82
10. Party of Yugoslavs in Socialist Republic of Macedonia	0.82
11. League for Democracy	0.58
12. Movement for All-Macedonian Action [MAAK]	0.58
13. Party for Human Rights	0.58
14. Other parties	1.76
15. Do not know	41.87

Table 2. "Which party has the greatest chance of winning in the elections?"

[figures in percentages, as published]

1. League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation	32.75
2. Party for Democratic Prosperity	15.32
3. Alliance of Reform Forces	4.68
4. Socialist Party of Macedonia	3.04
5. VMRO-DPMNE	1.52
6. MAAK	0.94
7. Social Democratic Party	0.82
8. Workers Party	0.47
9. Democratic Alliance-Farmers Party; People's Party	0.35
10. League for Democracy	0.23
11. People's Democratic Party; Party of Yugoslavs in Socialist Republic of Macedonia; other parties	0.12
12. Young Democratic Progressive Party; Party for Democratic Unification of Macedonian Workers [DMRO]; Party for Total Emancipation of Romanies; Party for Human Rights	0.00

New Role, Position of Bosnian Communists Profiled

AU2410112990 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Oct 90 p 3

[A. Sarac report: "A Modern Party With a Leftist Orientation"]

[Text] Within a period of only few months the recent sovereign ruler of the political scene in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina, found itself in the position of being only one party among the forty or so parties that exist in Bosnia-Hercegovina today. True, compared with other parties, the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina has some significant advantages—ranging from political experience and the well-broken-in party apparatus to the communists in prominent state positions—but also the handicap of numerous blunders and injustices that were made in the last 40 years of its rule, which the future electorate has not forgotten and other parties, without exception, are fully exploiting for promoting themselves. In any case, new circumstances and the phenomenal speed of changes in society imposed the need for fundamental changes within this party in every respect, including its program.

So, what does the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina look like today?

Mistakes Have Been Admitted

First of all, by the decision of the League of Communists last June the party attained, not without polemics, a completely "external" mark, an extension of the old name—the Socialist Democratic Party. This name should mark a new, modern, and democratic trend of the party. Or, as it is stated in the election program of the communists: "The new League of Communists of Bosnia- Hercegovina—Socialist Democratic Party, as the initiator of social reforms, is rapidly transforming itself into a modern left-oriented party of all citizens and all peoples and nationalities who live in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina." Commenting on the old name at a recent news conference, Ivo Komsic, member of the Presidium of the League of Communists, said: "We have not abandoned the name of League of Communists, nor do we have a reason to feel ashamed of it. We have admitted mistakes that were made under this name, but the bright and good aspects in its tradition can only benefit our reputation." When it comes to mistakes, one must point out that in the election propaganda the communists are not holding back from being very critical about things that were done during their power. They did not skip the totalitarian-repressive conduct either, nor the Goli Otok [Barren Island—former political prison], persecution, arrests, the harassment of those who held different views, the cadre policy founded on obedience rather than knowledge and ability, nor the plunder of socially owned property.... "We will work in such a way that things like that do not happen again," they claim in their program. The next congress will decide on whether the party will change its name or not.

Through its program and the statements of its leading members the League of Communists-Socialist Democratic Party has been displaying a new, undogmatic approach to reality, without phrases, oaths, and "irrefutable truths" which used to be sacred until not so long ago. However, what this party did not get rid of is its leftist line, its multinational composition, its commitment to cohabitation in togetherness, and the equality of "all peoples and nationalities—Serbs, Muslims, Croats, Yugoslavs, and other peoples and nationalities who live in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina." The party counters the insanity of national hatred with the slogan "We will live together." It is also said that the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Socialist Democratic Party does not divide people into "indigenous" and "non-indigenous" people, "small" and "big," "meritorious" and "nonmeritorious" people. All citizens of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina enjoy all rights and are all equal.

The novelty, something that has been talked about for months—is the break with the belief that the red party card is incompatible with religion. The election program states that the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Socialist Democratic Party is open to all citizens who accept its program, regardless of their views on the world and religion.

For a Federation

Not leaving any space for speculations, this party resolutely opted in favor of a federation—a currently burning issue concerning the country's organization—because it believes that "the federal setup of Yugoslavia is the best form of the state organization for its peoples and nationalities and their republics." Aware of different concepts that exist on this issue at present, the communists strive for a Yugoslavia which will be a product of a democratic agreement among all republics. In such a situation, Bosnia-Hercegovina can only be a sovereign and democratic state, a state that is an equal partner to all other sovereign republics—"nothing more or less." Views on the unified Yugoslav People's Army are similar. The communists oppose the initiatives to create national, republican armies. The League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina also proposes that the army be depoliticized.

The economic program of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Socialist Democratic party is based on the basic concept and the directions of the reform of the Federal Executive Council, but demands that specific level of economic development of this particular republic be taken into account. The economy of this republic is said to have has been in a kind of neocolonial position in relation to the developed federal units. This party therefore wants Bosnia-Hercegovina to be provided in various ways over the next five years, with $2,000 to $2,500 [figures as published] which would be used to revitalize resources and land devastated through exploitation and dirty plants which Bosnia-Hercegovina has been the "center" of for a long time. Public works (the modernization of the Samac-Sarajevo road, amelioration, power generating facilities on the river Drina, and various waterworks in northeastern Bosnia and western Hercegovina....) is one of the main points of the economic program of this party. A special program to help undeveloped communes is also envisaged. It is said that the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Socialist Democratic Party "is abandoning the principle on uncritical glorification of social property" and that it will try to ensure that the process of privatization and socialization of property take place gradually, according to the economic laws of the market.

After All, 350,000 Members

According to the data of the Information Center of the Central Committee, the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Socialist Democratic Party rallies about 350,000 members around its program the points of which we presented here. Since the last congress (December 1989), 36,000 people have left the party. The same source also claims that since 1 September, especially after its conventions in Sarajevo and other places, the League of Communists—Socialist Democratic Party is being joined on average by 300 to 500 new members a day.

As regards the financing of the party, there are significant changes in relation to the past. The party can no longer survive on the money collected as membership fees, something that used to be the main source of finances for a long period of time (in the last 10 or so years it did not receive any money from the republican budget). Membership fees—one percent of the monthly income of the communists who have a job—are irregularly paid and although nobody was able to give us precise information, it is obvious that this source of finance has been dry for some time. The money collected in this way is not even enough for the functioning of the already trimmed party apparatus (in the Central Committee building there are, for instance, 80 instead of 200 employees—the rest of them represent a technological surplus), let alone a serious election campaign. This is why the League of Communists invested capital in an enterprise, COD [expansion not known], for a wide range of activities: marketing, hotels and restaurants, and tourism. A substantial part of the party's property, for example in Sarajevo, including a half of the Central Committee building, has been rented. Like all other parties, the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Socialist Democratic Party finances part of its election activities with donations and presents.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Who Is in the Leadership

The top organ of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Socialist Democratic Party continues to be the Central Committee. Since the 10th Congress, the Central Committee has had a considerably smaller number of members that the previous Central Committee—81. According to the statute, the very top of the party, the Presidium of the Central Committee, which is the executive organ of Central Committee, consists of 13 people. In addition to the president, Nijaz Durakovic (who is 41 and has a PhD in sociology and an MA in political sciences) and the secretary of the Presidium, Krsto Stjepanovic (44, a metal worker), the following are also the members of the Presidium: Meho Basic (44, PhD in economics), Kerim Dizdar (34, a civil engineer), Karlo Filipovic (36, machine engineer), Emina Keco (40, PhD in philosophy), Ivo Komsic (42, PhD in philosophy), Miro Lazovic (36, a technician), Zlatko Lagumdzija (35, PhD in computer sciences), Krsten Malesevic (43, PhD in philosophy), Nikola Stojanovic (48, a film director), and Miomir Tausan (47, lawyer). Muhidin Hamdzic, president of the Sarajevo League of Communists (54, PhD in veterinary science), is an ex-officio member of the Presidium.

(The joint list of the candidates of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Socialist Democratic Party and the DSS [the Democratic Socialist Alliance] for members of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia includes four members of the Presidium: Nijaz Durakovic, Ivo Komsic, Zlatko Lagumdzija, and Nikola Stojanovic)

Kadijevic, USSR Military Delegation Hold Talks

LD2510020790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1619 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Defence Secretary Veljko Kadijevic held talks in Belgrade today with Colonel-General Nikolay Shlyaga, head of the Central Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, who is heading a Soviet military delegation on an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia and its armed forces.

The talks focused on inter-army cooperation between the two countries, it has been announced. It was noted that the relations and cooperation between the Yugoslav and Soviet Armed Forces were developing successfully, in line with the two countries' good relations.

During their stay in Yugoslavia, Shlyaga and his delegation have also visited several units and institutions of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Paunovic Elected UNESCO Commission Chairman

LD2510133190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1215 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Paris, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—Yugoslav representative Sinisa Paunovic was today elected chairman of the United Nations Education, Science and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] commission for relations with non-governmental organizations.

Paunovic is the chairman of Yugoslavia's commission for cooperation with UNESCO, with a long and successful career in maintaining working contact between Belgrade and Paris. UNESCO's commission for relations with non-governmental organizations cooperates with some 600 non-governmental organizations and has a two-year budget of some 3 million dollars. It rallies around 20 million scientists and other experts around the world for cooperation in science, education and culture on UNESCO's projects, and thus is the animator of "intellectual resources".

Comparison of Constitutional System Concept Draft

AU2310114590

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 18 October on page 2 carries the text of "The Concept of the Federal Organization of Yugoslavia" which the SFRY Presidency submitted to the SFRY Assembly for discussion on 17 October. This version has been compared with the Belgrade TANJUG version, published in the 18 October East Europe DAILY REPORT on page 50, and is found to be identical, excepting the following variations:

Column two, third paragraph of item headlined "Presidency's Federal Proposal Released," only sentence reads: The FR of Yugoslavia is a democratic state based on the freedoms and the rights of man and citizen, the rule of law and social justice. (supplying indistinct words)

Same page, same column, paragraph eight of item reads: The FR of Yugoslavia represents a unique economic and legal territory in which citizens and economic entities enjoy an equal status, rights, and obligations. (supplying queried word)